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AN EARLY IRON AGE 'BEACH-HEAD' AT LULWORTH, DORSET

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THE SITE

IN the preparation of its Dorset inventory the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) has drawn new attention to a remarkable earthwork which has long been known to exist on Bindon Hill, adjoining Lulworth Cove, Dorset. The significant topographical features are as follows. For many miles of Dorset coast the cove is the only natural harbour where in all weathers small craft may lie up with safety. In terms of human time, it must long have approximated to its present shape, the product of a fairly simple geological process. The successive strata hereabouts (from bottom to top) are Purbeck limestone, Wealden clay, and chalk; but they are all here uptilted towards the south through nearly 90 degrees so that in effect they lie side by side with the limestone as an outermost barrier against the sea. In ages past a chalk-stream wore a gap through the limestone down to sea-level, admitting the sea to the Wealden clay, which it then proceeded to scoop into a basin until stopped by the more solid chalk beyond. The tiny descendant of this incisive stream still flows unnoticed beside the road down to the harbour.

Towards the east for a mile the small circular basin is flanked by a shelf of wind-swept arable and pastoral clayland which reaches a width of some 500 yards between the sea and the rising chalk-ridge. The ridge itself attains a height of 561 ft.; at its eastern end it is abruptly curtailed by crumbling cliff, and to the west it falls steeply but smoothly to the re-entrant which forms the natural approach to the cove. Ridge, shelf, and cove are alike barred from the hinterland by the earthwork now in question.

PREVIOUS REFERENCES

In the middle ages certain of these features were seized upon by the Cistercian founders of Bindon Abbey, who about the middle of the twelfth century first established their convent (later, about 1160-70, moved inland to the vicinity of Wool) on the western edge of the shelf, immediately above the cove. In the present context, the special interest of this abbey is that its cartulary contains the earliest reference to the ancient earthwork near by, with explicit recognition of its antiquity.

An *Inspeximus* of 15th November 1279 confirms a charter of Henry de Novo Burgo, itself inspecting and confirming a charter whereby Robert de Novo Burgo, his father, gave to the church of St. Mary, Bindon, 'the place of Old Bynedon and the dike of Julius Caesar, where the abbey was first built; with the mill of Lulleworth and all the multure of the men of Lulleworth and all the land adjoining the mill, which lies within the high road running to the port of Lulleworth, the sea and the old dike running from the said road to Starhole . . .'.¹ Further reference will be made to this interesting topographical detail.

The antiquaries who have visited the site have added little to our knowledge. O'Keeffe knew the earthwork in 1791² and makes the following statement:

'On the highest part [of Bindon Hill] is a barrow, or tumulus, and from thence runs for a considerable length a wall of huge loose stones, piled up with little order: in this wall a chasm marks the former station of a gate; the posts and ironwork remain—they are very rude, perculiar in their form, and bear visible marks of great antiquity. Here stood Bindon Abbey. . . .'

In the year (1826) in which O'Keeffe published this reminiscence, Miles, who thought that the Bindon earthwork represented a Phoenician or Carthaginian city, averred that the *oppidum* was 'enclosed by stone walls of enormous thickness, measuring on an average from 15 to 18 feet, . . . its entrance flanked by two stone walls, while the bases of the towers, between which stood the gates, are perfectly distinct'. In a footnote he refers to a statement by Hutchins that these all related to Bindon Abbey.³ Warne also specifically associates stonework with the dike.⁴ He remarks that the ramparts were 'of a very peculiar construction', being 'wide and flat banks on which are the remains of walls of Cyclopean masonry, now covered with moss and turf'. By 'Cyclopean masonry' he explains that he means 'a heaped-up ridge of loose stones of various sizes'. In particular, he describes the wall as being built 'on the inner edge of the rampart' for some distance to the west of the northern entrance. He remarked that the work as a whole owed its importance as 'a principal maritime town' to the cove, and thought that its single rampart was adequate partly because the strongly fortified 'Florus Berry' or Flowers Barrow camp, on the next hill to the east, was at hand as a refuge. Warne's account was later supplemented by T. Kerslake, but without important additions.⁵

PRESENT STATE (pl. 1)

Along the northern brow of Bindon Hill, on the skyline of the ridge as seen from the valley-bottom below it to the north, an earthwork extends from the brow of the crumbling sea-cliff on the east for a length of 2,600 yards to the rounded western end above the cove. It thus demarcates the ridge (with the coastal shelf to the south of it) from the northern hinterland. The main stretch of the earthwork

¹ *Calendar Charter Rolls*, ii (A.D. 1257-1300), 216. I am greatly indebted to Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew for this reference.

² *Recollections*, ii (1826), 191-2.

³ *Deverel Barrow* (1826), pp. 15 and 35.

⁴ *Ancient Dorset* (1872), pp. 39-42 and pl. 1,

fig. 2.

⁵ *Proc. Dorset Field Club*, iv (1880), 53 ff.; *ibid.* iii (1879), 74 ff. Kerslake proposes the (unacceptable) identification of Bindon with the Beandun of the *A.S. Chronicle*, A.D. 614.

consists of a rampart above a scarp, at the foot of which is a small ditch with a correspondingly small counterscarp bank; but where, towards the eastern end, the hill-side becomes almost precipitous, the scarp, ditch, and counterscarp bank are omitted, and on the steep western end the work appears to consist only of an artificial escarpment. The rampart is made up from rearward quarries, which are particularly clear in the eastern half. The low counterscarp bank is the upcast from the ditch, which is merely the product of the scarping of the hillside above and does not itself constitute an appreciable obstacle.

At the western end of the ridge, where the main work devolves into a mere scarp, the east-west line is continued sharply down to the re-entrant approach to the cove by a bank and northward ditch. A gap of about 40 yards intervenes between the two parts,¹ but there is no reason to doubt their integral relationship. Evidence has already been cited above (p. 2) that in the thirteenth century this defence still extended to the sea at Star (or Stair) Hole, the minor inlet immediately west of the cove, and the principal approach to the cove must have been approximately where the present road cuts the line.

The only surviving entrance through the main dike is in the northern side, and is marked by boldly inturned rampart-ends. It is approached obliquely up the northern hill-side by a track, still used, the antiquity of which is vouched for by its local name, 'the Roman road'. It must indeed have been the original approach from this side.

The summit of the ridge carries a number of other earthworks of various dates and mostly of small significance. At the highest point are two dilapidated barrows. Lynchets or field-banks appear at intervals in the long grass, but have not been coherently planned. At one point adjacent to the rampart an oblong earthwork enclosure of slight elevation appears to have contained a brick structure, possibly of the eighteenth century, and a similar small enclosure appears externally to the defences farther west on air-photographs. Other cuttings are of recent military origin. But towards the western end is a transverse (north-south) work of unusual interest, designed to cut off the western end of the ridge, together with the harbour. It was never finished and the methods of layout and construction are still recognizable. Further reference will be made below to this instructive demonstration of prehistoric engineering.

In summary, the special and remarkable features of the Bindon earthworks are these:

- i. They enclose the only natural all-weather harbour hereabouts.
- ii. They extend for nearly two miles along a line approximately parallel with the coast, and formerly extended farther towards the east; both ends are or were on the sea.
- iii. They thus bar a great tract of commanding ridge and low-lying coastland from the north.
- iv. They are essentially of the single-rampart type; the tiny counterscarp bank being a constructional device, not in itself a military obstacle.

¹ A small detached mound and pond-like hollow in the gap may indicate an intention to join the two works, but this is not certain. The hill-side hereabouts is very steep and slippery, and forms a natural defence.

THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1950

The facts tabulated at the end of the last section suggest certain inferences of unusual interest. These inferences will be considered later. Meanwhile it will suffice to observe that they induced the Royal Commission in 1950 to carry out a trial-excavation with the limited objectives of establishing (a) the cultural phase to which at least the main work belongs, and (b) such structural details as a limited time and labour-force would permit. At the invitation of Mr. Geoffrey Webb, Secretary of the Commission, the digging and survey were carried out under my direction during four weeks of July and August by members of the staff of the Royal Commission under the leadership of Mr. A. T. Phillips and Mr. Colin Bowen and augmented by other colleagues and students, of whom I would specially mention Miss T. M. I. Newbould, Mr. Raymond Allchin, and Mr. Huntley S. Gordon. The photographs are by Mr. F. T. Power. The site is largely on the Lulworth tank-gunners range, and it gives me great pleasure to record the unfailing helpfulness of the military authorities, led by the commandant, Colonel Bernard Cracroft, D.S.O., and the range-officer, Major George Ward. I propose now to consider seriatim (a) the structural and (b) the cultural evidence which we brought to light, and (c) the provisional results in their various aspects.

(a) *Structural evidence*

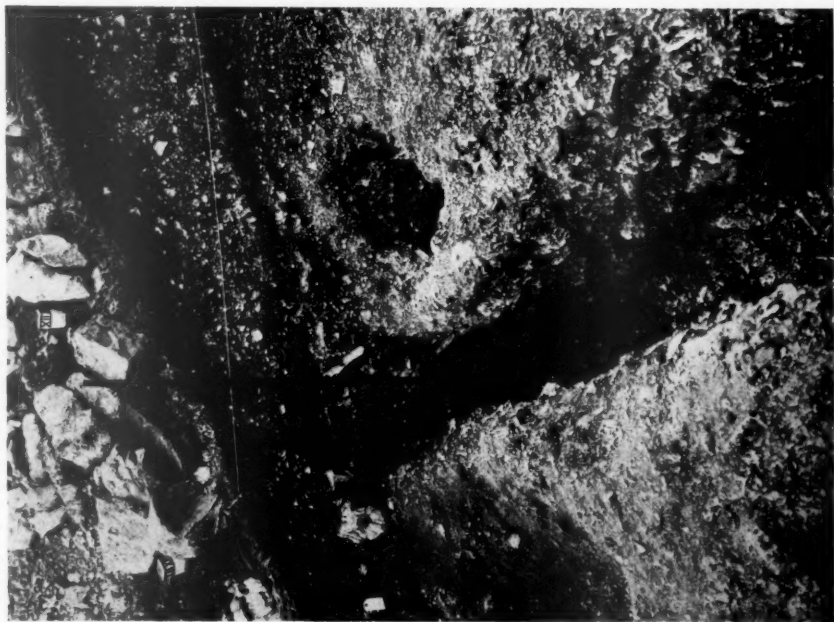
It was decided to restrict the digging to the northern entrance and its vicinity and to the unfinished cross-bank near the western end. Excavation more than 100 yards east of the entrance was rendered impossible by the constant use of the range. The most important evidence came in fact from our main cutting through the defences (site BIN 2) a few yards east of the entrance. See section, pl. III, a, fig. 1, and plan, pl. 1.

Section BIN 2. This section through the rampart revealed evidence of a composite structure of earth and timber of the kind which has been recognized on a number of Iron Age A sites in Britain. The front of the rampart had (at any rate in intention) been revetted by a palisade set in a continuous trench cut to a depth of 2 ft. in the natural chalk (pl. II, a). At a distance of 12 ft. behind it an internal revetment had been anchored to 4-in. unsquared posts set in separate holes at intervals of 3 ft. Behind the inner revetment the tail of the bank formed an approach-ramp. A detail of some interest was a small bank, not more than a foot high, of chalk rubble and turves immediately in front of and parallel to the rear line of posts, i.e. roughly in the centre of the work. The feature was constant through our cuttings and presumably represents a setting-out bank. (Compare below, p. 7.)

At Hollingbury in Sussex, where the type was first identified, the two lines of timbering were only 6 ft. apart;¹ at Maiden Castle in Dorset, they were 12 ft. apart,² as at Bindon. Incidentally, at Maiden Castle the Iron Age A rampart had been buried anciently by an Iron Age B rampart, and was thus sufficiently preserved to indicate an original height of about 10 ft. From the relatively moderate

¹ E. Cecil Curwen in *Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 162.

² Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (1943), p. 32, etc.



a. The palisade-trench of the main rampart east of the northern entrance. (*The measuring-rod is 5 ft. high.*)



b. Section through the main rampart, looking south from the glaciis.



a. Section through the main rampart. Ranging poles in post-holes of rear palisade.



b. Rear palisade and rampart restored, with vertical posts in the ancient post-holes.

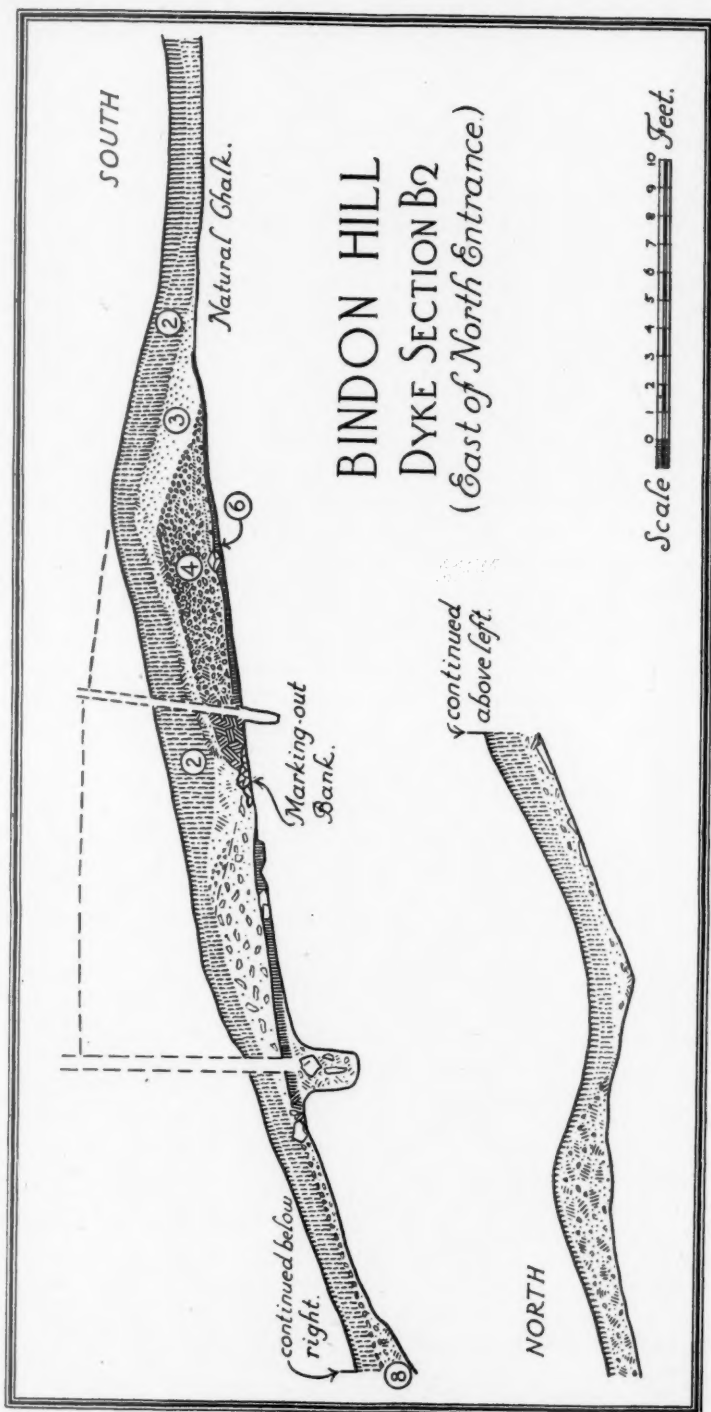


FIG. 1.

volume of earth preserved on the site the Bindon earthwork may have been rather lower, with compensating command from the long and steep slope which it crowned.

In intention therefore the Bindon rampart conformed with the rules of its kind. But at the point explored something apparently happened to modify the work during construction. The outer palisade-trench was found in part to have been packed continuously with chalk and limestone debris, with no clear indication that individual uprights had been planted in it. Furthermore, forward of the rear palisade-holes and completely covering the outer palisade-trench was a layer of turves some 6-8 in. thick, notably thicker than any ancient natural turf-line hereabouts. And again, both in and under this turf-line was a great quantity of potsherds which, in the absence of local occupation-floors, presumably represented waste-crockery thrown on to an exposed ledge from the interior of the work. All this evidence converges upon the supposition that, perhaps owing to the vast extent of the dike, the outer palisade was either never erected or was early destroyed, and the space between the inner and the outer palisade thus remained as a berm where rubbish readily accumulated as the turf grew upon it. The effective defence thus then consisted of the rear-palisade only, with the rampart tail behind it (pl. III, *b*). Whether this compromise was local or general cannot be said without further cuttings.

A considerable number of rough slabs or lumps of limestone and chalk lay in and under the turf-carpeting referred to and in the silt on the side of the scarp, but no built masonry remained *in situ*. A likely explanation is that the revetment included stone-walling between the timber uprights, as at Maiden Castle; but it would be mere guess-work to suppose that fragments of the walling survived as a structure into the nineteenth century and were in fact the masonry seen by Warne and his contemporaries (p. 2).

The small ditch at the foot of the scarp was, as already stated, the structural result of the scarping and, with its tiny external spoil-bank, was of little or no substantive value as an obstacle. It would be misleading therefore, however literally correct, to describe the Bindon earthwork as 'bivallate'; it is essentially 'univallate'.

Section BIN 4 (not illustrated). To check continuity of structure, a partial section was cut into the main rampart 100 yards east of the entrance. The vertical sequence was found to be the same as that farther west, and both the setting-out bank and the rear palisade were identified. The front palisade-trench was not uncovered.

Site BIN 1, the northern entrance. The eastern half of the entrance was incompletely uncovered in the usual grid-system (pl. IV); i.e. the area was marked out in 10-ft. squares, the actual cuttings being 8 ft. square in order to provide a stable 2-ft. baulk on all sides. The structural evidence revealed was not satisfactory, and further exploration is needed both on this side and in the intact western half of the entrance. An incomplete line of post-holes under the highest part of the inturned rampart represents the rear line of posts in sections 2 and 4, but the corresponding front line of posts was not clearly identified, nor were gate-posts found. Pottery was scarce, but was identical in type with the abundant pottery from BIN 2. The road-passage between the two inturned banks was very slightly hollowed but

showed no features. It did not appear to have been much in use, but the ready weathering of the surface may have removed evidence on this point. The width of the opening, though not yet precisely ascertained, was greater than usual and was perhaps designed for the easy admission of cattle.

Site BIN 3, the cross-bank (not illustrated). At a distance of some 280 yards from the western end of the ridge an unfinished bank and ditch, facing east, extends from the dike on the north to within a few yards of the cliff on the south, and cuts off the harbour end from the main area of the ridge (fig. 2 and pl. v). This cross-work is referred to by Warne in the following terms: 'It consists of a very strong and broad rampart, rudely formed, presenting the appearance of additions or reparations, and is further fortified by a deep foss, with a wall of Cyclopean structure of great strength before it.'¹ The 'wall of great strength' is presumably an imaginative reconstruction of a low bank of earth and chalk rubble which was clearly the marking-out bank of the whole work and in fact runs along the inner or western margin of the unfinished ditch. At the southern end, where the cutting of the ditch had not even been begun, the marking-out bank continues to the brow of the cliff (pl. vi, b). Parallel with it, at a distance of 25 ft. to the west, is a slighter bank which is probably a part of a relatively modern field-bank,² but there is at least no doubt as to the antiquity and purpose of the front bank.

Ditch and rampart alike display very clearly the gang-system of which the classic illustration is Ladle Hill, Hampshire.³ Particularly in the northern half of the ditch (pl. v, a) the separate quarries, not yet trimmed through as a continuous unit, can be clearly seen, with corresponding inequalities in the bank. Of three causeways across the ditch, two are doubtless purely constructional and would have been cut away had the work been completed. The bank, which was sectioned at one point with a 5-ft. trench, is of dump construction without walling or timbering, and is set back some 6 ft. from the ditch; though it may be doubted whether, on completion, it was intended to retain this berm as a permanent feature. At the northern end the work overlies the tail of the original dike, and west of the junction there is evidence of quarrying and dumping with a view to reinforcing the latter in harmony with the scale of the new cross-bank, which is of considerably bolder relief than the original dike.⁴

No pottery was found in the cross-bank or its ditch, but a featureless sherd of Iron Age pottery (probably A) lay on the old surface under the bank.

As a demonstration of constructional method the work is of unusual interest. The use of a marking-out bank has never been more clearly illustrated, though in principle it is familiar enough. For example, it was present in exactly the same relationship in the earliest (Iron Age A) rampart on site E at Maiden Castle,⁵ and at Bredon Hill, Gloucestershire, the rampart was marked out by front and rear banks.⁶

¹ *Ancient Dorset*, p. 41.

² This modern field-boundary appears to have followed the crest of the cross-bank, whence it descended the northern slopes of the hill obliquely towards the north-east.

³ S. Piggott in *Antiquity*, v (1931), 478 ff.

⁴ Whether this difference is due to a variant

phase of fortification or merely to the fact that the cross-dike was not aided by contour, and had therefore to be proportionately stronger, cannot be determined.

⁵ Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, pl. 1x.

⁶ Thalassa Hencken in *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1938), 26.

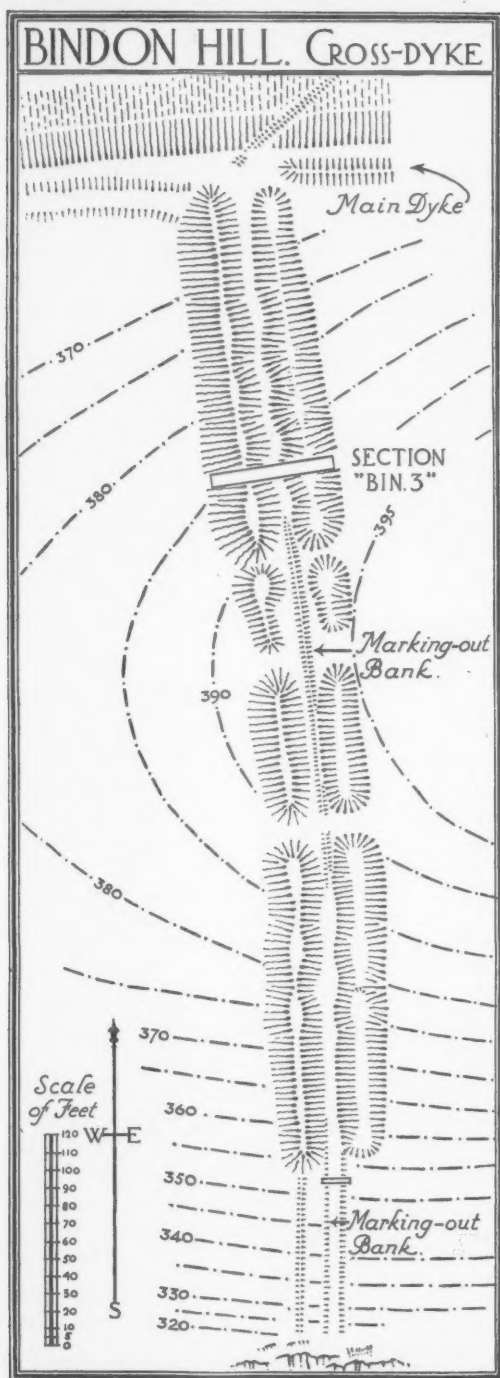


FIG. 2.



a. The unfinished cross-bank and ditch



b. The unfinished cross-bank from the east; Portland and Weymouth in the distance. The figure stands in the entrance-gap



a. Lulworth Cove from within the enclosure



b. Lulworth Cove from the unfinished cross-bank. The left figure stands on the marking-out bank of the work; the right figure stands on a field-bank

(b) Cultural evidence

Metal was restricted to an inchoate scrap of iron and two fragments of a featureless bronze bracelet of segmental section. A few sherds of pottery were found in the entrance, but the most productive site was BIN 2, where some 200 sherds were found in and beneath the bank and in and under the thick turf-line between the lines of the parallel palisades.

All the sherds belong to a single ceramic phase. A majority of them represent coarse situlate pots with finger-tip decoration round the rim and/or shoulder, a type sufficiently familiar in the British Iron Age A complex. The carination of the shoulder, in the few instances where it is preserved, is moderately emphatic, and may reasonably be diagnosed as early in a region where by the third century B.C. this feature had devolved into an almost inappreciable curve—possibly under local influence from forms allied to the Deverel type of Late Bronze Age II (after 750 B.C.).¹ When the situla first arrived upon the Wessex scene we do not know, but the fifth century seems still to be consistent with such little evidence as there is; and the process of commingling with the established Bronze Age ceramic is likely enough to have begun at the outset.

The base of the Bindon pots is not infrequently emphasized by a rough circumferential projection, a feature characteristic of the pottery from the early site at Scarborough and some of its Low Country affinities.² The projecting base, however, is not in itself an exclusive type-feature; it is found, for example, on the alien pottery of a much later Midland group recently studied by Miss Kathleen Kenyon in Leicestershire,³ and elsewhere.⁴ On the other hand, the Scarborough analogy, in spite of its geographical remoteness, may be significant, for the Bindon situlates are associated with occasional bowls with S-profile, which are likewise found at Scarborough. The latest dating for the Scarborough culture—that of Professors Hawkes and Piggott—is about 450–400 B.C.:⁵ admittedly, of course, a somewhat arbitrary selection within what may well have been a fairly wide bracket.

We may approach the Bindon material also from another angle. Only twenty miles to the west we have abundant Iron Age A material for comparison at Maiden Castle, whilst four miles to the east Kimmeridge Bay has produced a less documented but not negligible series in the same general category. At neither site is there any bulk-similarity with Bindon. At Maiden Castle, finger-tip decoration occurred on only three of many thousands of sherds. Above all, the Iron Age A both of Maiden Castle and of Kimmeridge is prolific in red haematite-coated wares which in the former occur from the outset, i.e. (on current dating) from some time

¹ It is not possible to accept, on the present evidence, a straightforward devolutionary sequence for the shouldered situla on the assumption that the shoulder diminished steadily in emphasis as time went by. In some regions blunt shoulders may be relatively early, and in others angular shoulders relatively late. My *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, p. 187.

² *History of Scarborough*, ed. A. Rowntree (London, 1931), pp. 26 ff.

³ *Leicestershire Arch. Soc. Trans.* xxvi (1950), 61 ff.

⁴ e.g. in Dorset itself at Marnhull: Audrey Williams in *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxxii (1950), 41, no. 51.

⁵ C. F. C. Hawkes in *Arch. Journ.* c (1943), 219, and Stuart Piggott, *British Prehistory* (Oxford, 1949), p. 152.

in the third century B.C. At Kimmeridge the evidence is much less abundant; such as it is, it suggests an elaborate ceramic with haematite elements at a fairly early date (Mr. J. B. Calkin compares All Canning's Cross), preceded by a non-haematite phase of which little is at present known.¹ At Bindon not a single scrap of haematite ware was found amongst a couple of hundred sherds. A possible inference is that Bindon is pre-third century and perhaps pre-All Canning's Cross, whatever the inclusive dates of that complex be. On this argument, Bindon may derive in fact from the very dawn of the British Iron Age, or rather perhaps from that *crépuscule* which overlaps our ultimate Bronze and primary Iron Ages somewhere after 500 B.C. Between the fifth and the third centuries, 400 B.C. might be taken as a provisional central date for the dike.

That view is tenable, and I incline towards it, but it is not inevitable. Where all is matter of opinion, Professor Piggott (in discussion) prefers not to postulate two consecutive series of invasive moves, chronologically distinct, one without and one with haematite-coated pots. He writes: 'I would much rather think of it as a cultural phenomenon, not necessarily separated in time, with a predominantly Marnian-Norman haematite group bringing in our earliest "A" culture to a point not much further west than Christchurch, Hants, and with a more westerly group (Breton?) using finger-tip ornament only. Sites like Kimmeridge would naturally display overlapping traditions.' On that showing Bindon need not be fastened back behind the Kimmeridge and Maiden Castle haematite wares, and remains chronologically unanchored within the earlier part of the Iron Age. The last word must be that the material for clear decision is simply not yet available.

Fig. 3.

1. Shoulder of situla with finger-tip impressions on the carination. From the basic turf-line between the two palisades on BIN 2. (Also pl. VII, 1.)
2. Sherd with finger-tip impression. From the rampart (layer 4) behind the inner palisade on BIN 2. (Also pl. VII, 24.)
3. Sherd with finger-nail impression. From the same layer as 1. (Also pl. VII, 5.)
4. Sherd with finger-tip impression. From the same layer as 3. (Also pl. VII, 7.)
5. Rim with blunt finger-tip impressions 1 in. below top edge externally. From the palisade-trench in front of rampart on BIN 2. (Also pl. VII, 13.)
6. Rim of notably hard rough ware with irregular vertical slashes externally. From the same layer as 2. (Also pl. VII, 14.)
7. Sherd from the carination of a situla with finger-tip impressions. From the same layer as 2 and 6. (Also pl. VII, 23.)
8. Same type and layer as 2, 6, and 7. (Also pl. VII, 21.)
9. Flat-topped rim with stab below externally. From a low level in the rampart flanking the entrance (BIN 1) on the eastern side. (Also pl. VII, 27.)
10. Rim with finger-tip impressions near top edge internally. From the same level as 3. (Also pl. VII, 9.)
11. Bevelled and rippled rim, with rough horizontal scorings (intentional?) below. From same layer as 1 and 3.
12. Bevelled rim. From the same layer as 2 and 6-8. (Also pl. VII, 12.)

¹ *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lxx (1949), 38 ff. Cf. Henrietta Davies in *Arch. Journ.* xcii (1936), 200 ff.

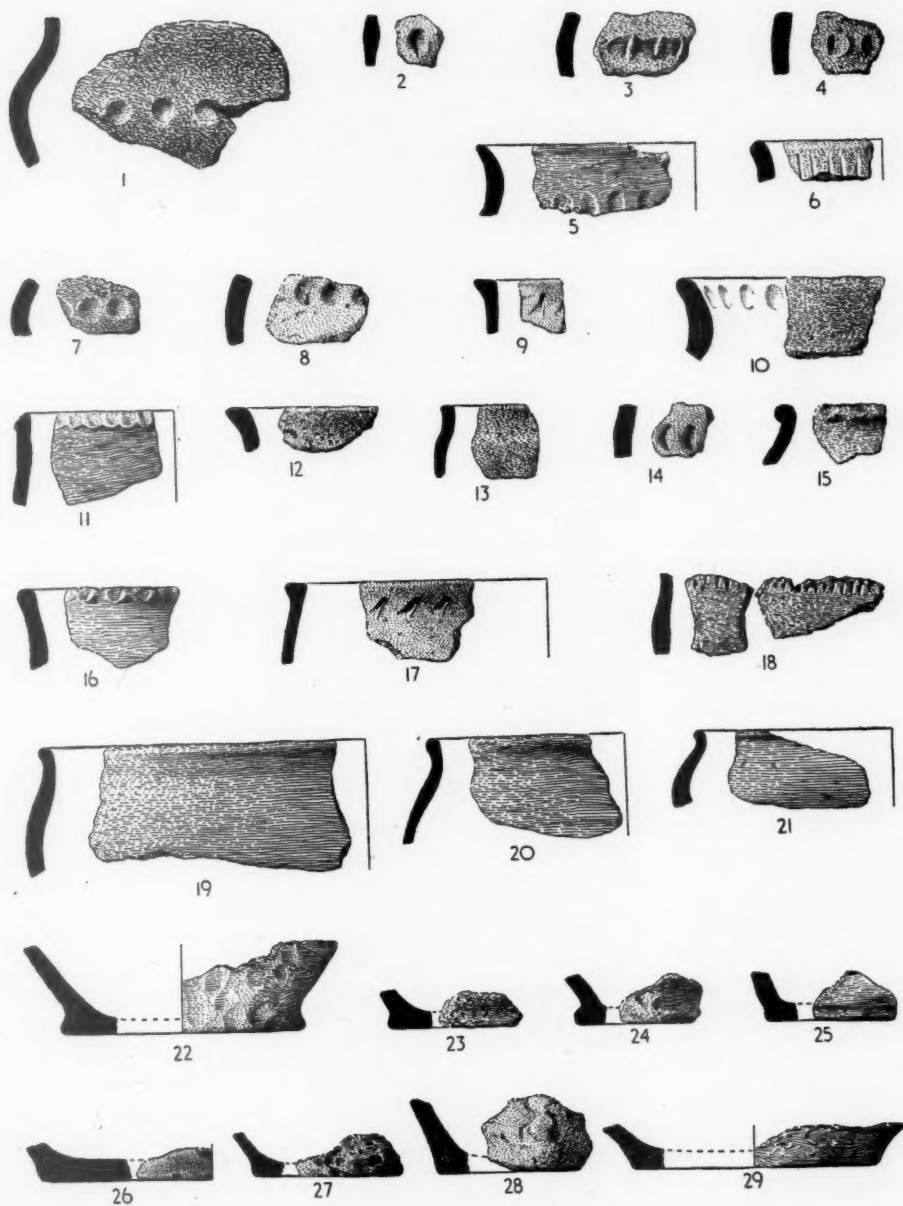


FIG. 3. Representative sherds ($\frac{1}{4}$).

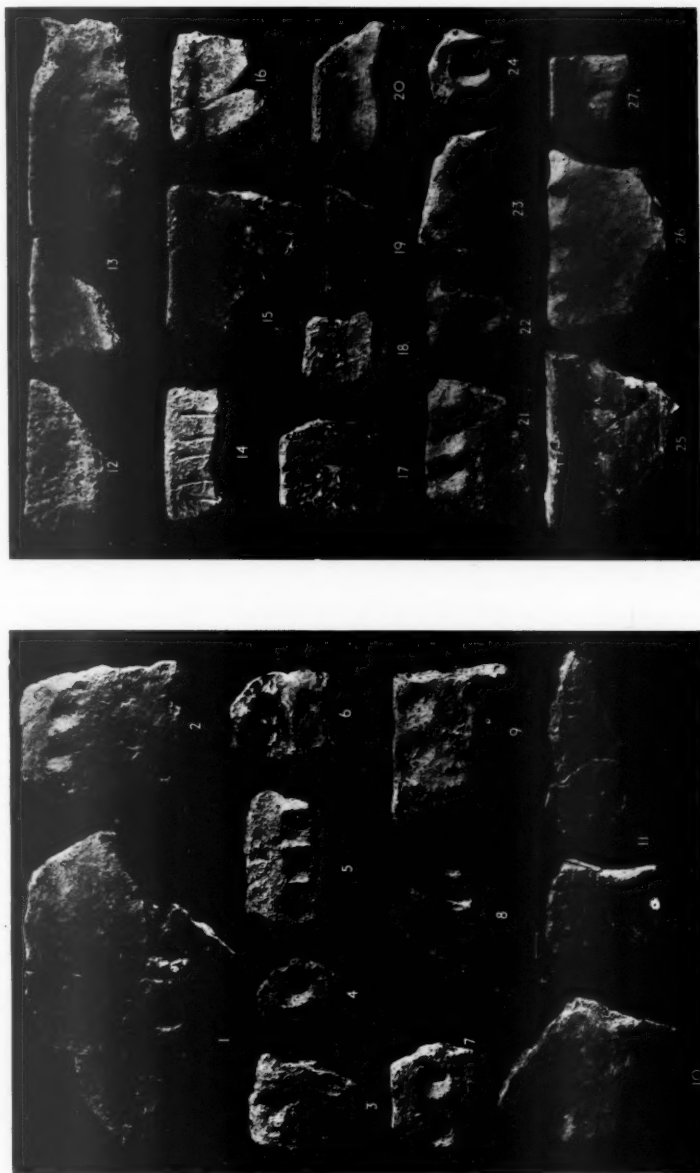
13. Rim of bowl. From the same layer as 2, 6-8, and 12. (Also pl. VII, 17.)
14. Sherd with finger-nail impressions. From the same layer as 2, 6-8, and 12-13. (Also pl. VII, 22.)
15. Roughly rolled rim. From the same layer as 2, 6-8, and 12-14. (Also pl. VII, 16.)
16. Rim with finger-tip impressions on external edge. From the eastern rampart of the entrance, site BIN 1 (AII, level 2). (Also pl. VII, 26.)
17. Flat-topped rim with stabs below externally. From a low level (FII, 6) in the rampart flanking the entrance (BIN 1) on the eastern side. Possibly part of the same pot as 9. (Also pl. VII, 25.)
18. Smoothed reddish sherd with line of slashes. From the same layer as 1, 3, and 11. (Also pl. VII, 11.)
19. Bowl with slightly rolled rim. From the basic turf-line behind the rear palisade on BIN 1.
20. Rim. From the same layer as 11 and 19.
21. Bowl. From the rampart on the east side of the entrance. BIN 1 (DIII, 4).
22. Splayed base. From the basic turf-line between the palisades on B 2.
23. Slightly splayed base. From the same layer as 2, 6-8, and 12-15.
24. Markedly splayed base. From the rampart (3) behind the rear palisade on BIN 2.
25. Slightly splayed base. From the same layer as 1, 3, 11, and 18.
- 26-29. Bases. From the same layer as 2, 6-8, 12-15, and 23.

(c) *Provisional results*

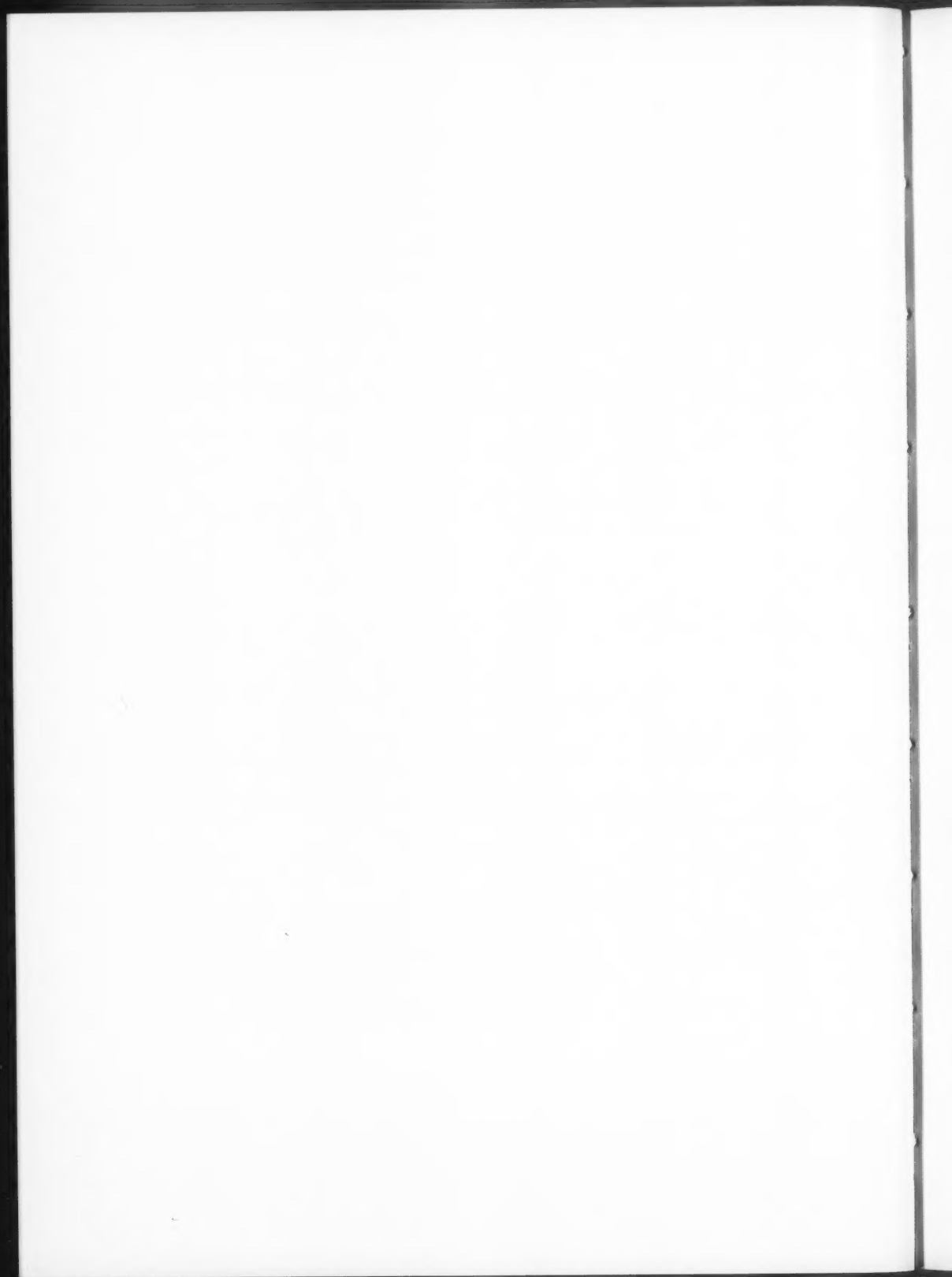
What was the function of the dike? Let us reconsider its features. It encloses the only natural harbour hereabouts where small-size shipping can lie up comfortably in all weathers. It fences off a very exceptionally large area—some 200 acres—with a rampart of military significance sited against approach from the hinterland. The pottery shows a simple, uniform culture of early or even primary Iron Age date, and is fairly abundant in the vicinity of the northern entrance. In the interior, on the other hand, though no appreciable excavation has been carried out, a series of trenches cut along the ridge for military purposes shows no hint of Iron Age occupation. It is logical to infer that the site is that of an Iron Age beach-head or transit-camp, where a tribal unit or units, during a period of movement, could abide awhile on landing before advancing or infiltrating into the country-side beyond. Military terminology in these matters is today somewhat less fashionable than it used to be, but is not on that account inapt.

If this inference be as correct as it is obvious, origins for the Bindon pottery may be expected across the Channel in Normandy. Unfortunately the material necessary for comparison at present scarcely exists. My hill-fort expeditions into Brittany and Normandy in 1938-9 had other objectives, and our French colleagues have not yet busied themselves appreciably with these matters. As often, further work in northern France is the corollary of our British problems. Meanwhile, along our own coasts a partial analogy to Bindon is presented by the famous site of Hengistbury Head, Hampshire, where a promontory over 2,000 yards long, adjoining a harbour, is fenced across its inner end, and where, moreover, pottery of a kind rare in Britain has analogues in western Normandy, though at a date considerably later than that of Bindon.¹ The Hengistbury 'camp' was very much

¹ *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 78-79.



Representative sherds from the northern entrance and adjacent rampart ($\frac{1}{2}$).



longer-lived and richer than Bindon has yet proved to be; it was certainly a good deal more than a transit-camp; but its great size suggests occupation on something approaching a tribal scale and a political purpose beyond the limited needs of a market. Beyond that it would be rash to conjecture.

The interesting unfinished cross-bank towards the western end of Bindon is another question. It represents an interrupted reinforcement or contraction in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour at some unknown moment of crisis, perhaps considerably later than the original scheme. Unfinished earthwork in southern Britain is now a sufficiently familiar phenomenon, of which the famous Ladle Hill camp in Hampshire has been cited as the outstanding example. Professor Piggott long ago suggested a prehistoric 'war-scare' as the context. Professor Hawkes has more recently focused this 'war-scare' upon a Marnian invasion in the middle of the third century B.C.¹ He may be right; but, if we learn from our own modern experience, we may incline rather to think that there may have been many such scares in an age which is unlikely to have been much more peaceful than our own.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE RAMPART

As an experiment a 10-ft. length of the inner half of the rampart on BIN 2 was reconstructed with timber cut on Col. J. W. Weld's land in the vicinity, the scantling of the vertical timbers being regulated by the size of the post-holes (4-5 ins. in diameter). Colonel Cracroft very kindly lent a sergeant and five men for the purpose, and the work of setting up the timbers and some part of the bank was completed in an hour on a rainy afternoon (pl. III, *b*). On this basis, as a *jeu d'esprit*, the following calculations are permissible:

- 6 unskilled men built 10 ft. of the inner half of the work in 1 hour;
- ∴ 60 unskilled men could build 100 ft. of the inner half of the work in 1 hour;
- ∴ 60 unskilled men could build 1,000 ft. of the inner half of the work in a day of 10 hours;
- But the total length of the dike is about 8,000 ft.
- ∴ 60 unskilled men could have built the inner half of the whole dike in 8 days.

It may be inferred that the same party could complete the dike in about 16 days, without allowing for the cutting and transport of the timber, which must have been growing abundantly on the slopes of the ridge. As against this, the working-party may easily have been larger, particularly having regard to the certainty that women and children would do much of the scraping and carting (basketing) of the earth.

In more general terms and allowing for all the unknown and variable factors, we may suppose that the construction of the Bindon dike, particularly by experienced hands, was by no means a difficult or prolonged operation, in spite of the great extent of the work.

¹ *Sussex Arch. Colls.* lxxx (1939), 241, 277.

AN IRON AGE BARROW IN THE NEW FOREST

By Mrs. C. M. PIGGOTT, F.S.A.

DURING the course of excavations undertaken in 1941 on behalf of the Ministry of Works on Beaulieu Heath in the New Forest a small, and hitherto unrecorded,

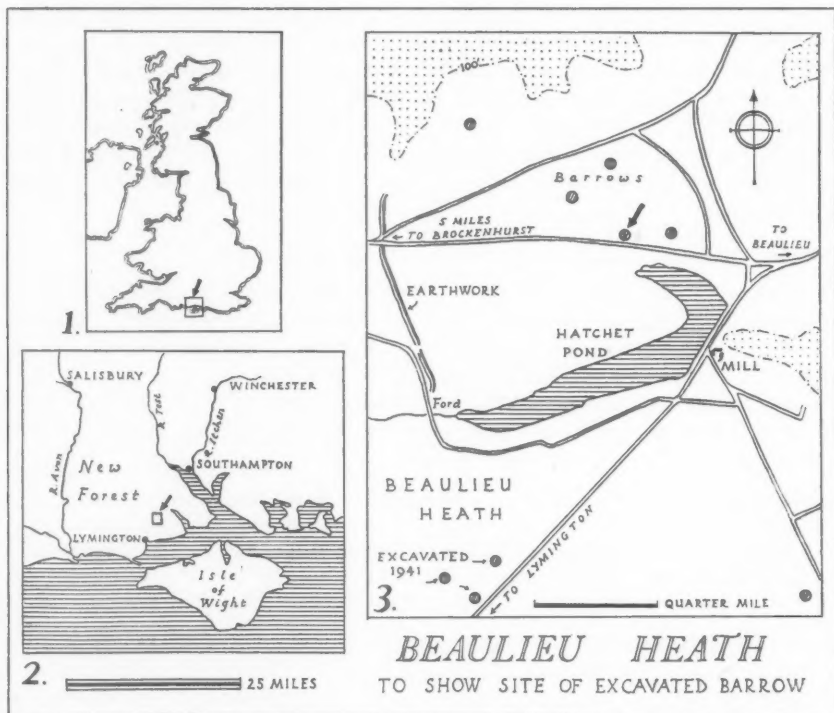


FIG. 1.

barrow was discovered by the writer (fig. 1).¹ After the conclusion of the official work² this small barrow was excavated in order to establish its cultural position in an area rich in barrow burials, but which does not, to the writer's knowledge, include many others of similar character.³ It should, however, be mentioned here that such inconspicuous little mounds are hard to find, and the present example was discovered shortly after a heath fire had burnt off the heather.

¹ Nat. Grid. Ref. 41/366018.

² *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* ix (1943), pp. 1-27.

³ Thanks are due to the following who helped

with the excavation: Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Miss de Cardi, Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson, and Miss Jocelyn Morris.

THE SITE

Beaulieu Heath is a low-lying plain, mostly under 100 ft. in elevation above the sea which is some five miles distant at Lymington. At the time of excavation the heath was covered with heather and gorse. The subsoil consists of Plateau Gravels

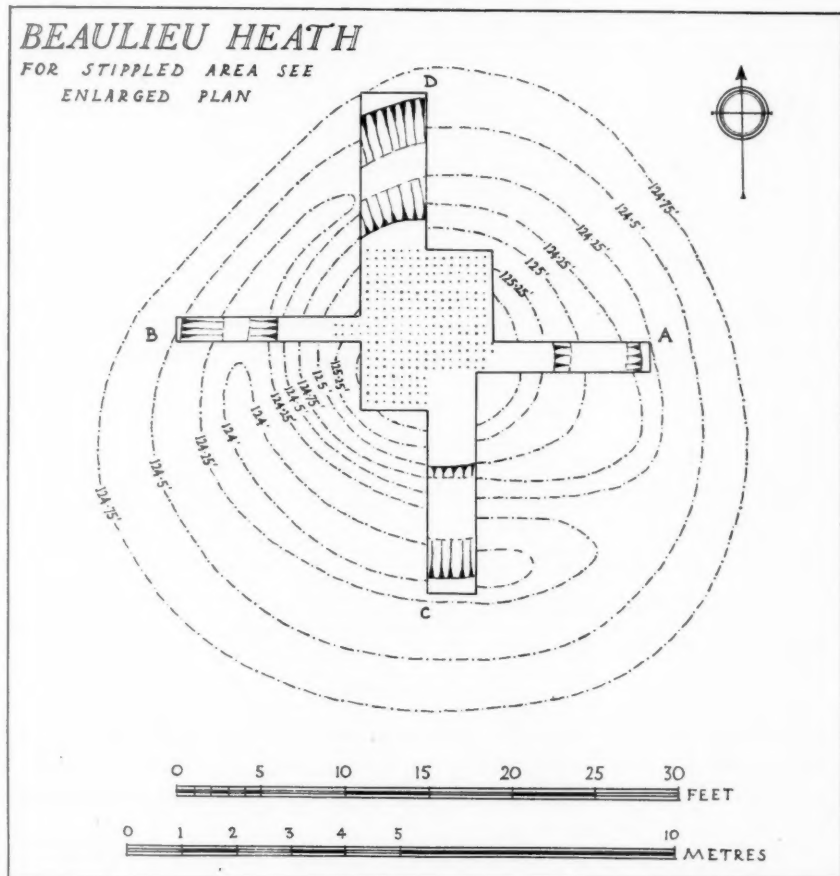


FIG. 2.

of Pleistocene age overlying Osborne and Headon beds of Oligocene age, and Professor Zeuner informed me that it is possible that some of the finer grades of the Plateau Gravels, especially the patches of silt and clay, are derived from the underlying Tertiary. This low ground frequently becomes waterlogged during the winter months, and in view of the unusually adverse conditions for the preservation of archaeological evidence, it was surprising that so much was recoverable,

particularly since the depth of the original surface on which the burial was placed was only 18 in. deep below the present ground-level.

THE EXCAVATION

The barrow was found to be surrounded by a shallow ditch cut into the natural gravel. The enclosed area measured approximately 15 ft. in diameter, though no attempt had been made to cut the ditch regularly. There was no superficial signs

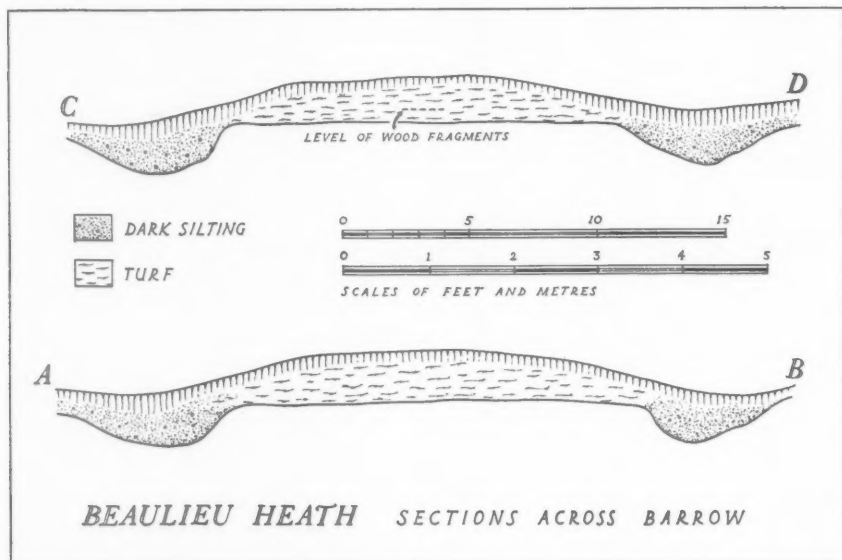


FIG. 3.

of any causeway across this ditch. The excavated soil may have been heaped up outside it or over the turf heap which formed the main core of the mound. The filling of the ditch appeared to be dark and fine-grained and suggested slow silting rather than a quick infilling.

Cuttings made at right angles across the barrow soon showed that the mound was composed of turf which had been heaped over the burial after it had been laid on the original turf of the ground surface. This resulted in obscuring the old surface, since no original turf-line was visible until towards the end of the excavation, when the soil had dried out: it then showed distinctly. In consequence the first trenches were taken down to the gravel surface into which a grave, if such had been present, must have been cut. Fortunately, however, fragments of decayed wood were found at 9 in. above the gravel, and it was then possible to strip the greater part of the central area shown in stipple on the plan (fig. 2) and at a larger scale in fig. 4.

No grave was discovered, and it must be presumed that the burial was an inhumation placed with the other objects described below, on the old surface.¹

THE FINDS

A large quantity of wood was discovered strewn without apparent meaning over the central area as shown in fig. 4. In addition there was found a rim of pottery and one complete bronze ring and what may represent remains of others.

The pottery. Although only one fragment of pottery was discovered, this was fortunately a rim fragment from which it was possible to estimate the diameter as well as the angle of the shoulder. The rim is flat and rather pronounced, with a diameter of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. or 14.4 cm. (fig. 5). The ware is fine and reddish-brown,

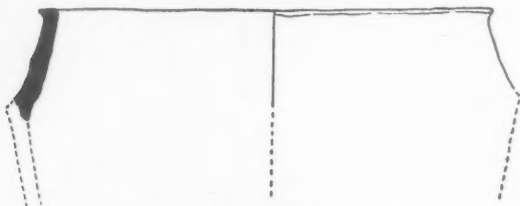


FIG. 5. Sherd from central area ($\frac{1}{2}$).



FIG. 6. Bronze ring from central area ($\frac{2}{3}$).

leathery in texture, and smoothed on the surfaces. This is a fairly typical Iron Age A form, widely distributed, and close analogies to it were found at Fengate near Peterborough. At this site such pottery was attributed to immigrants from the Lower Rhine arriving in this country in the fifth century B.C.²

The bronze ring. This is a solid bronze casting, 3.65 cm. in diameter and circular in section. It shows no signs of wear. Other fragments may represent more such rings, for one other appears to have a similar section and curve (fig. 6).

The wood fragments. The position of these can best be seen in fig. 4, where the grain of the individual pieces is shown. As has already been mentioned, other pieces of wood were most probably inadvertently cut away before the surprisingly high original ground-surface level was recognized. It is unlikely, however, that the recovery of these pieces would have thrown much light on the nature of the structure represented, and this must remain obscure until comparable but better preserved examples are excavated. The possible significance of this wood will be discussed at the end of this account.

Nearly all the wood fragments were taken up and removed to the British Museum laboratories for detailed examination, and the report on them, for which thanks are gratefully acknowledged, is printed below. The largest piece (no. I), which measured nearly 3 ft. in length, was cut into three to facilitate transport. It

¹ For the purposes of comparison attention should be drawn to a small barrow of somewhat similar construction excavated during the official work for the Ministry of Works. This was at Stoney

Cross, and is described as Stoney Cross III in the report referred to. No finds were made.

² *Arch. Journ.* c (1943), pp. 188-223, and especially fig. 1, A.3.

will be seen from the report below that all the wood was quite thin planking, and the thickest piece was probably not much over an inch; the average seems to have been $\frac{5}{8}$ in. or $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The following pieces (so numbered on the plan, fig. 4) were submitted to the British Museum: nos. I, II, IIA, IV, V, VA, VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI. Of these, a large number were found to be wood staining on lumps of sand, and these were too thin for examination. Those pieces in any way significant are described below (see pl. viii).

- I. For original form see fig. 7. Dissection¹ has made it clear that the thickness of the wood in all cases is never more than $\frac{5}{8}$ in. and that the bulk of the specimen as received consisted of sandy loam which was taken on excavation to give the object strength.

Specimen A had two channels cut out almost but not entirely to the thickness of the plank, and these are $4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. measurement. Specimen C has a rectangular notch in

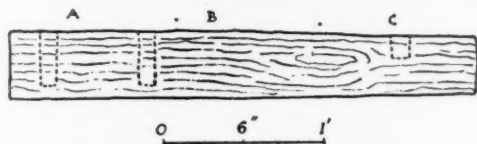


FIG. 7. Detail of wood fragment no. I showing mortices.

one of the longer sides $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. If this was part of a wood joint, as seems likely, the timber must originally have been of a thickness between about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., but nothing exists in the material examined approaching this higher limit. The 'iron nail?' is a ferruginous nodule, amorphous in character, and has been preserved with specimens of the wood from specimen B which provided the best samples in the collection.

- II. Shapeless remains of wood $\frac{1}{2}$ – $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick.
 V. Two rectangular lumps of earth with fragmentary remains of decayed wood on them suggesting that they may have been planks no more than $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick. No joinery work visible.
 VII. Fragmentary remains of wooden plank.
 VIII. Wooden remains evidently greatly shrunken; bundles of wood fibres being only about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick in this case.
 X and XI. No. XI has a different stratification to the smaller piece, X, and no common fracture can be found. They do not appear to belong together. No. XI has a definite imprint as of a right-angled joint of wood rather like an imprint of an elbow joint. Thickness of the imprint of wood less than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. and generally less than $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
 XV. Fragments of wood about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, much broken and shapeless.
 XVI. Imprint on sand, possibly the remains of a peg of wood 9×1 in., but with no very definite evidence of tapering.

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

This small and insignificant barrow has presented us with some difficulties and a considerable amount of information. The interpretation of this burial is, however, extremely tentative and will remain so until further examples of the type have been excavated.

¹ Dissected into three specimens, A, B, and C, for transport to the British Museum.

Amongst the large number of barrows in the New Forest excavated by Wise and others, nothing of a comparable character has been recorded, and this seems to be the case throughout Hampshire.¹ Slight remains such as these could, however, very easily have been dug away by nineteenth-century enthusiasts without being seen at all, still less recorded, and the barrow would have been described by Warne and his contemporaries as a *tumulus inanis*.

Comparable barrows of the Early Iron Age are difficult to find in the south of England, and perhaps that at King's Weston near Bristol² (Barrow 2) is most closely analogous. It is of interest to note that the finds included a carinated Iron Age A bowl with finger-tip decoration below the shoulder, as well as sherds representing five more vessels. An iron object described at the time as a cheek-piece, though probably not in fact used as such, was also found. Barrow 3 in the same group, both in size and section closely similar to the Beaulieu barrow, also produced pottery of Iron Age A analogy. Unlike Beaulieu, both these barrows showed evidence of burial by cremation. In East Anglia at Warborough Hill, Stiffkey, Norfolk,³ a much disturbed barrow, considerably larger in size, was found to have been constructed by Iron Age A settlers possibly as early as the fifth century. Later disturbance has made its real history impossible to interpret with certainty. In the same county, at Weeting, a barrow only 14 ft. across and 18 in. high was excavated by Mr. Armstrong and considered to have been built early in the Iron Age.⁴

The burial must have been by inhumation since no bones were discovered. In the other barrows excavated on Beaulieu Heath the inhumed burials were never discovered even as a stain in the sandy soil,⁵ but cremated burials were still found to be in good condition despite the acidity of the soil, and must be almost indestructible by natural agencies.

The wood fragments are undoubtedly the most puzzling feature of this burial. If this originally represented a coffin in which the body had been placed it is difficult to imagine why there should be so much wood strewn over so large an area. Other coffin burials of various periods are known,⁶ but in no instance do the remains resemble these. Whatever the original character of this wooden object, it was clearly not very strongly made, though considerable care had been taken, as is shown both by the uniformity of size in the planks employed and of the notches used in the joinery.

The clue to an alternative interpretation is afforded by the potsherd which so fortunately retained enough of the rim and shoulder for its form to be identified. For its typical Iron Age A form provides a pointer to the continental Hallstatt culture generally, and it is here that we find the most plausible parallels for this burial. Cart burials, though only a few have been excavated scientifically, are not

¹ See J. R. Wise, *The New Forest* (1883), chap. xvii. For barrows in Hampshire see L. V. Grinsell in *Proc. Hants Field Club and Arch Soc.* xiv. The barrow at Oliver's Battery, *ibid.* xii (1934), 9-10, is not closely comparable.

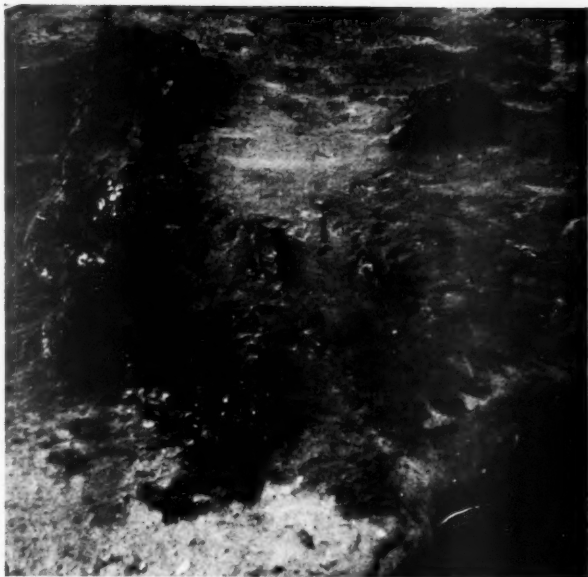
² *Proc. Bristol Spelaeo. Soc.* ii (1925), 238-40.

³ *Norfolk Archaeology*, xxv (1933-5), 408 ff.

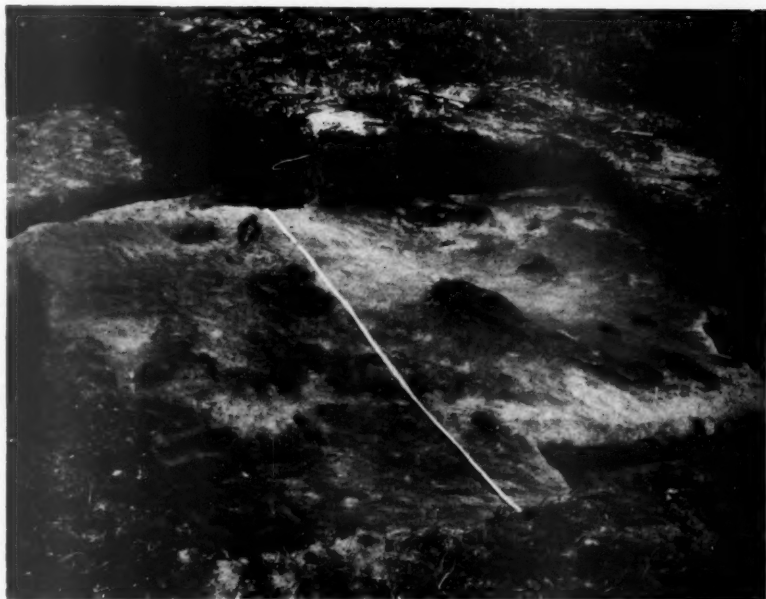
⁴ *Ibid.* 426, n. 1.

⁵ As, for instance, in Holland. Van Giffen, *Die Bauart der Einzelgräber* (1930).

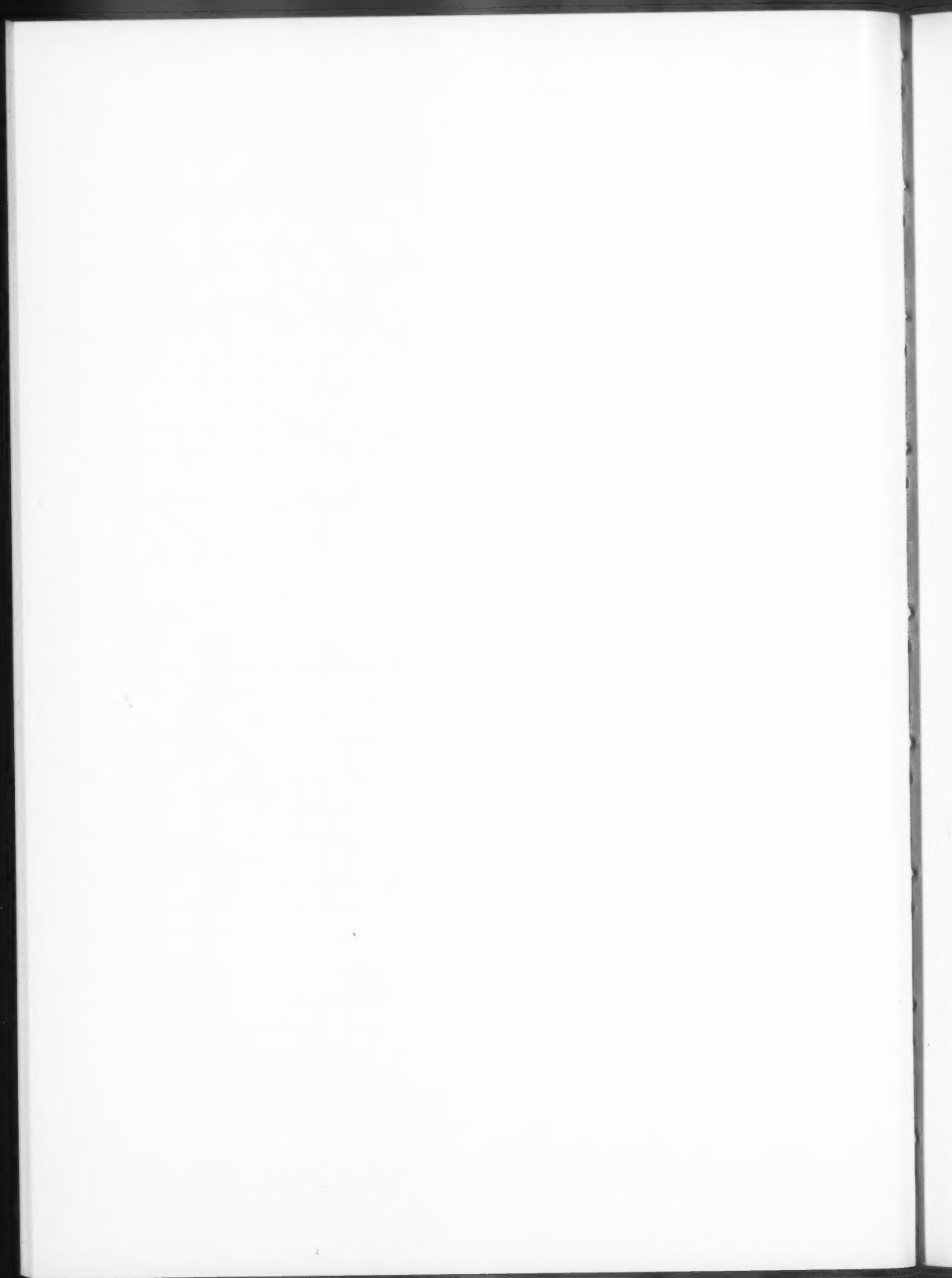
⁶ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xv (1949), p. 105 for Bronze Age examples.



a. Wood fragments nos. I, II, IIA, III, and IV from SE.
Beaulieu Heath Barrow



b. Beaulieu Heath Barrow; general view of wood fragments in central area from the
south



unusual on the Continent, though so far as is known no example has yet been recognized from Britain. Perhaps the classic discovery at Bad Cannstatt in Württemberg¹ and dated to the sixth century B.C. is most closely applicable in this instance. Here, though the burial was a rich one, the remains of the cart would not have been capable of interpretation had it not been for the bronze fittings and the iron tyres of the four wheels. Similar circumstances obtained in Czechoslovakian cart burials of Hallstatt C.² These Hallstatt grave-carts vary widely in type. They may be provided with two or four wheels and the body of the cart may be solid or slatted, while some examples have no sides and consist simply of a platform on wheels. A not unusual feature is for the sides of the cart to be hung with bronze rings, and this may have been the origin of the ring and other fragments from our Beaulieu burial. An inhumation is the usual accompaniment in continental examples.³

The pottery fragment has already been mentioned as being closely similar to that from Fengate near Peterborough which came to Britain from the Lower Rhine. Professor Hawkes and Miss Fell have drawn attention to the mixed character of the Late Hallstatt culture in that region where fusion took place between 'the indigenous Lower Rhenish Tumulus people and later Hallstatt groups moving successively down or parallel with the Rhine northwards from inner Europe'. These latter groups were in fact coming from the very part of Europe where cart burials were a common practice, and their arrival in the Lower Rhine would produce just the mixed elements we require for the culture represented at Beaulieu. Alternatively, at Les Jogasses on the Marne was found not only a wheeled cart but also pottery analogous to our Iron Age A.

In conclusion it must be stressed that the evidence is unfortunately too slight to warrant a definite identification, but the suggestion is here made that we have at Beaulieu a poor relation of the rich Hallstatt cart burials of the Continent, and it deserves our attention more particularly since it is the first British example to be even tentatively identified as such. A date for it around the fifth century B.C. is probable. This early date, however, depends upon the acceptance of the wooden fragments as the remains of a cart burial of the type referred to above.

¹ O. Paret, 'Das Fürstengrab der Hallstattzeit von Bad Cannstatt' (Stuttgart, 1935), in *Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, n.f. viii, 2-38.

² Dvořák, 'Wagengräber der Älteren Eisenzeit in Böhmen', *Praehistorica*, i (Prague, 1938), with

bibliography.

³ For a recent summary of the continental evidence, see Childe in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* xvii (1951), 177 ff.

A SAXON TREASURE HOARD FOUND AT CHESTER, 1950

By GRAHAM WEBSTER, F.S.A., *with Notes by* R. H. DOLLEY and
G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

ON 29th November 1950 workmen employed by the Merseyside and North Wales Electricity Board were relaying a cable on the west side of Castle Esplanade, Chester. In cleaning up the western side of the trench with a spade, 18 in. below the present pavement level and 29 ft. to the south of St. Martin's Court, one of the men cut through a small earthenware vessel and a shower of coins and silver bullion poured into the bottom of the trench. It is distressing to record that although the Grosvenor Museum is only 100 yards from the site, the discovery was not reported. No significance was attached to the find; one of the men stated later that they thought they were milk checks. Three of the men put handfuls of coins into their pockets; others were distributed to children near, and the rest shovelled back into the trench. The engineer-in-charge took several to his office for the purpose of identification, but later forgot about them. One of the men sent some of the coins to Hunter Street Girls' School, by his niece, for identification, and the mistress immediately sent them to the Curator of the Grosvenor Museum. This happened on 10th December, and the Curator at once appreciating the significance of the discovery, set to work to recover as much as possible of the hoard, and reported the matter to the City Coroner. As a result he recovered a hundred coins, twelve ingots of silver, and a fragment of the vessel.

The officials of the Merseyside and North Wales Electricity Board then gave the Curator every facility for re-excavating the trench. The hoard was found to be scattered along about 10 yards of trench. The whole of this soil was removed to the museum and washed through a $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. sieve,¹ with the result that 360 more coins, including fragments, more bullion, and pieces of jewellery, etc., and about 70 sherds of the vessel were recovered. Care was exercised in dealing with the cable itself under the mistaken impression that it had been energized. As soon as it was discovered that the cable was dead, the trench was re-excavated, and this time the cable lifted and all the soil from around and below it removed and washed. This operation produced 50 more coins and further pieces of bullion.

The inquest was held at Chester on 28th December 1950 and the hoard found to be Treasure Trove; two of the workmen were declared to be the joint finders and the Curator was commended for his action and subsequent assistance to the Coroner. The whole of the hoard and bullion were then deposited with the British Museum, and a full report on the coins is in preparation by Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.S.A., and Mr. R. H. Dolley. The two workmen as joint finders received £25 each and the rest of the gang £12 each. The Curator, who was awarded £400, waived his claim in order to secure 300 of the coins, not required by the British

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. A. Warhurst, at that time his assistant, and to Mr. G. B. Leach for considerable help.

A SAXON TREASURE HOARD FOUND AT CHESTER 23

Museum, and the whole of the bullion for the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, where it is now deposited. The final classification of the coins is as follows:

Alfred	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Eadward the Elder	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7 (incl. a Danish imitation)
Æthelstan	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	48 (" ")
Eadmund	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	66
Eadred	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	140 (incl. two halfpennies)
Eadwig	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	113 (" one halfpenny)
Eadgar	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	141 (" two halfpennies)
Anlaf	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Berengarius (Milan)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Type of Charles the Bald (Melle)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
									<hr/> 522

The total weight of silver bullion recovered was 15,071.30 grains, sufficient to mint about 750 pennies in the time of Eadgar.

THE FIND SPOT

The actual site of the discovery raises several problems of historical and topographical interest, the most important of which is that concerning the precise extent of the Mercian stronghold.¹ Chester was the site of a Roman legionary fortress, the lines of the defences of which are well established. The north and east sides were incorporated in the later medieval defences, but the south and west sides are no longer visible on the ground, except that Trinity Street, Weaver Street, and White Friars are on the line of the intravallum road inside the fortress area. The south-west corner of the Roman fortress wall lies about 220 ft. to the north-east of the provenance of the hoard which was thus found outside the fortress area (fig. 1).

It is probable that the site of Chester remained deserted after the withdrawal of the Roman garrison until the early tenth century, when Queen Æthelfleade built a number of strongholds along the north-west frontier of her Mercian kingdom.² The entry in the *A.S. Chronicle* concerning this work refers, at Chester, merely to renovation.³ The statement that Æthelfleade was responsible for extending the walled area of the Roman enceinte to include the area of the castle appears to originate with Bradshaw, a Chester monk,⁴ who wrote the life of St. Werburg at the end of the fifteenth century. The relevant verse reads:

Also she enlarged this sayde olde cite
With newe myghty walles stronge all about
Almost by proportion double in quantite
To the farther byldyng brought without dout.
She compassed in the castell enemies to hold out

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. W. F. Irvine, M.A., F.S.A., for drawing his attention to certain aspects of these problems and discussing them with him.

² *C.A.J.* xxxviii, 44.

³ A.D. 907 "... and Chester was rebuilt." The word used is *geedniwud*; it was usual to use *getimbrede*, which refers specifically to building in timber.

⁴ d. 1513, but he may have used earlier sources.

Within the sayd walles to defend the towne
Agaynst Danes and Walshemen to dryve them downe¹

This extension of the simple entry in the *A.S. Chronicle* has been followed without question by all subsequent writers and the assumption made that the present enceinte originates with Æthelfleade.² The enclosing of 132 areas, including much open ground, seems to be unreasonable if the original intention was merely the establishment of a small Mercian strong-point.³ The great commercial and administrative advantages of the site would have led to its subsequent expansion, as it is clear from Domesday that Chester by the late eleventh century was a place of considerable importance.

The evidence for the defences of the burgh during these centuries is very meagre and is based on the Domesday Survey and early Norman documents. The former implies the existence of a stone wall (*ad murum civitatis* . . .)⁴ by the arrangements made for its repair. It is reasonable to suppose that within 200 years the original timberwork would have deteriorated and been replaced with stonework. No indication is, however, given of its boundaries. Assistance in this direction comes from documentary sources. The Chartulary of St. Werburgh's Abbey, 1121-9, records properties 'in the city . . . by the Clippe gate', evidently an error for the Ship Gate.⁵ This gate, which was demolished about 1830, stood on the south side, but somewhat to the east, of the castle. The sergeantry of the Bridge gate, by the old Dee bridge, which was probably on a Roman foundation, was confirmed by Randle Meschin, earl of Chester, in 1121-9,⁶ and shows that the gate was in existence before this date. A study by Mr. W. F. Irvine of the grants, of the same period, of a piece of land, known as Poyntz's Croft, has shown that the city wall probably extended at least to a point about 200 yards north-north-west of the castle.⁷

To the north of this point was a small creek, which must have discharged into the Roodeye. Although this has been largely filled in, there is even today a noticeable drop in the land. At some time in its early development the city wall was built across the mouth of this creek. The earliest evidence for its presence north of this point is in A.D. 1246, when the Grey Friars obtained permission to make a hole through it, presumably opposite their land north of the Watergate, when they required to bring timber into the city for building purposes.⁸

The extent of the original Mercian burgh is thus a matter of speculation. The possibility must be considered that it was in extent an area smaller than the later and present enceinte, the creek being used as a defensive obstacle. While the distribution of other coin hoards⁹ does not offer any evidence to support this, the

¹ *Chetham Soc.* xv, 157.

² Much of the area on the west side thus presumed to have been enclosed appears to have consisted of fields and gardens, referred to in early documents as 'crofts'.

³ Note also Shetelig's general remark: 'Judged by our standards, the A.S. boroughs of that time were very primitive, consisting only of earthworks and palisades. They were built in a hurry by the peasants of the neighbourhood under the cover of

the King's army, but they answered their purpose and on the whole they served to ward off all Danish attacks' (*Viking Antiquities in Gt. Britain and Ireland*, pt. i, p. 92).

⁴ *Chetham Soc.* lxxv, 37 and 85.

⁵ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 9528.

⁶ Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, i, 356; ii, 546.

⁷ *Cheshire Sheaf*, 9544.

⁸ *C.A.F.* xxiv, 16.

⁹ Details given in fig. 1.

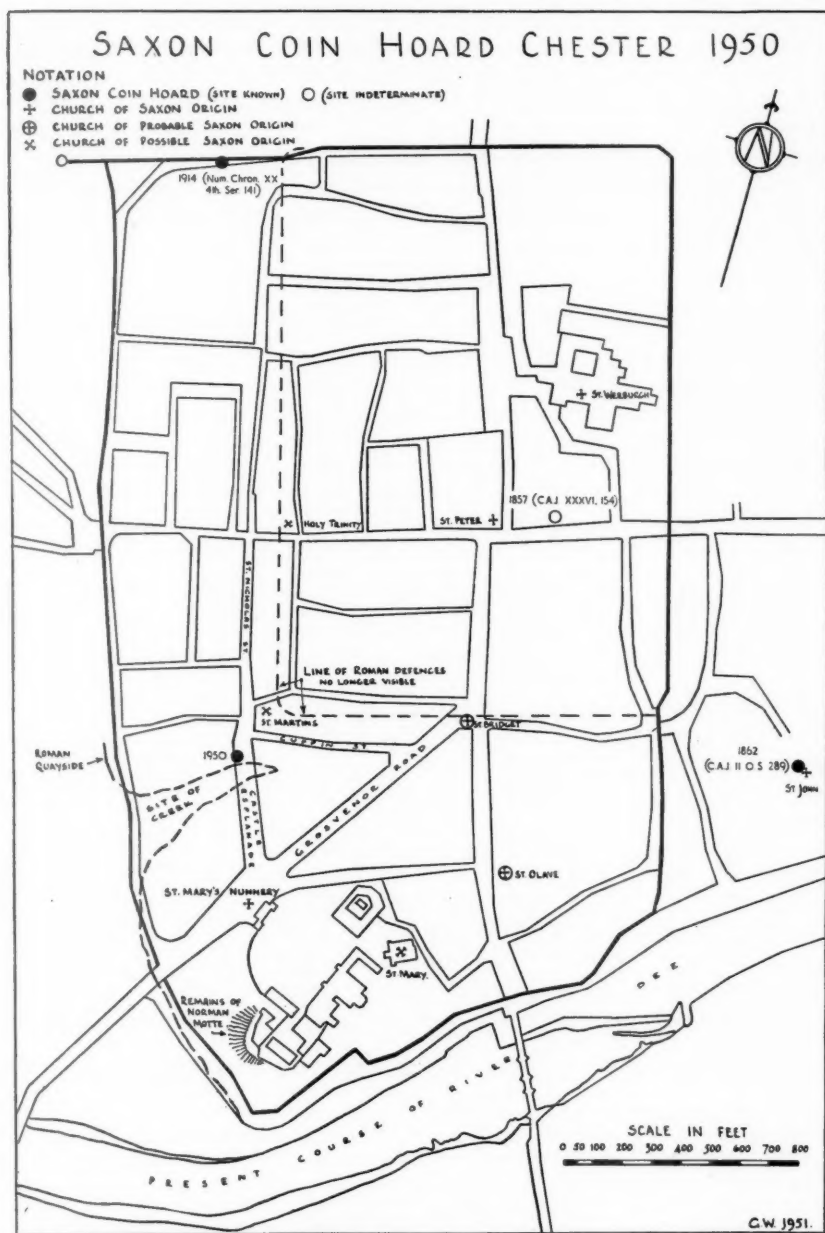


FIG. 1.

disposition of churches, with apparently early dedications (fig. 1), shows that there was a tendency for a spread of occupation from the castle area in a general north-easterly direction. Until these problems are settled by further evidence, the question as to whether the hoard was inside or outside the Mercian burgh must remain an open one.

Although a careful examination was made, in a limited space, of the actual context of the find, no trace of occupation layers was observed. The vessel appeared to have been deposited in open but disturbed ground, containing several fragments of Romano-British pottery.

THE BULLION

One hundred and forty-two pieces of silver bullion were recovered, consisting of the following:

Decorated fragments of brooches	6
Plain fragments of brooches, bracelets, or ring-money.	34
Small pellets or flattened bars	16
Complete ingots	11
Fragments of ingots	73
Coiled wire	2
	<hr/>
	142

The six decorated fragments have all been cut from brooches (pl. ix, *b*). There are two flattened pieces of thistle terminals (nos. 3 and 4), a common decorative feature of Norse-Irish penannular brooches.¹ A short length of a square bar (no. 1) has a series of short, engraved lines on two sides, almost identical with that on the long pin of one of the penannular brooches in the British Museum.² Two thin fragments of plate (nos. 5 and 6) bear punch-markings forming a pattern of dots and lozenges. A very similar fragment formed part of a hoard from Bangor-on-Dee,³ and it is probable that they belonged to silver armlets like those from York and Cuerdale.⁴

The double-stranded, twisted bar (no. 7) is clearly a bracelet similar to the Cuerdale example,⁵ but it is not certain if the fragments of plain bars were armlets or brooches or even ring-money. Only one of them (no. 15) has survived in sufficient length for an estimate of its diameter, of about 70 mm., to be made; it is too small for a bracelet. Many of these round plain bars have tapering ends like the complete examples from the Douglas hoard;⁶ the great Skail hoard from the Orkneys included a number of circular, plain tapering bars of 70 mm. diameter which Shetelig describes as ring-money.⁷

The small round pellets and flattened bars are interesting as it is possible that

¹ Cf. *Arch.* lxxv, fig. 14; Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, figs. 60 and 63a; pt. iii, fig. 90; pt. iv, figs. 7, 11, 15, and 16.

² The writer is grateful to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford for drawing his attention to this parallel. Cf. also Rygh, *Antiquités Norvégiennes*, no. 485.

³ *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology*, pl. ix,

no. 14.

⁴ Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iii, fig. 79; pt. iv, figs. 8, 10, and 12; *Arch. J.* iv, 115 ff.; see also *Proc. R. Irish Academy*, xlii.

⁵ Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iv, fig. 9.

⁶ Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iv, figs. 20 and 21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 59 and p. 127.

these may represent coin-blanks, although their weights vary; several similar fragments occurred in the Cuerdale hoard,¹ now in the British Museum. The two coils of thin wire (nos. 141 and 142) demonstrate the ability of the Saxon silversmiths to draw fine wire which was used as a decorative feature on bracelets and torcs² and for making silver chains.³

The ingots (pl. ix, c) vary considerably, some were poured into a mould (no. 57), probably scooped out in sand, others are mere droplets of silver (no. 67); only eleven of them are complete, the rest have been cut at one end or the other. The method employed in cutting appears to have been to have driven a sharp cutting-edge into the bar, penetrating about half its depth, and then snapping the bar in half, leaving a rough surface.

The bullion is similar in general to that from a number of hoards, probably the nearest parallel being the great Cuerdale discovery which contained nearly 1,000 oz. of silver dated to A.D. 911.⁴ This hoard included silver ingots and fragments of brooches very similar to the few Chester pieces. The Douglas hoard of 1894⁵ contained armlets and brooches but no ingots; the 78 coins covered the same period as the Chester examples. A hoard found on the Isle of Skye, with coins up to A.D. 926, included ingots and fragments of brooches, etc.⁶ A great hoard from Burn of Rin near Skaill, Orkneys,⁷ produced a large number of plain armlets, some thistle brooches, silver ring-money, and pieces of cut ingots. The coins with this hoard show that it was deposited in the second half of the tenth century. Another from the Orkneys at Burray⁸ contained ring-money, twisted necklaces, and coins up to A.D. 1015. Several ingots have been found also in Ireland.⁹

The Chester hoard will be seen to conform with other similar hoards except for the unfortunate absence of jewellery in a complete form, and, considering the size and shape of the vessel, it is unlikely that much has been lost.

The most difficult problem is that of classifying the hoard. Can it be said to be loot? Is it part of a jeweller's, moneyer's, or merchant's stock? If it had been found anywhere but in a Mercian stronghold, one would be tempted at first sight to suggest the former alternative. This could be supported by its striking similarity with other northern Viking hoards and the absence of any complete jewellery. The cut and battered condition of almost every fragment could be attributed to a sharing process between members of a raiding-party. As opposed to this, some of the fragments are very small and would appear to be more likely the carefully collected fragments of a merchant-moneyer. Another factor to be considered is the strong Irish-Norse flavour of the jewellery, as opposed to the almost entirely Saxon content of the coins. If this is a Norse merchant's hoard, it could have been outside the

¹ *Arch. J.* iv, 112.

² Cf. a silver torc from the Douglas hoard, Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iv, fig. 18.

³ Cf. Cuerdale hoard, Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iv, fig. 12 and p. 42, and a silver scourge from Trewhiddle, Cornwall, in the British Museum, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xx, 49.

⁴ *Arch. J.* iv, 110, and Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iv, p. 32.

⁵ *Proc. I.O.M. Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.* i, no. 1, p. 437.

⁶ *P.S.A.S.* xxvi, 225; Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, p. 113.

⁷ *P.S.A.S.* x, 575; xv, 286; *Arch. J.* lx, 469; Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, p. 119.

⁸ *P.S.A.S.* xviii, 318; Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. ii, p. 135.

⁹ Shetelig, *op. cit.*, pt. iii, p. 105.

burgh where the foreigners were obliged to reside. If, on the other hand, it is a moneyer's hoard, it would have been within the burgh. Evidence is not strong enough to draw either conclusion. The coins clearly demonstrate trade with the south and Midlands with very little northern money, whereas the 'raw silver' is exclusively of Norse-Irish origin.

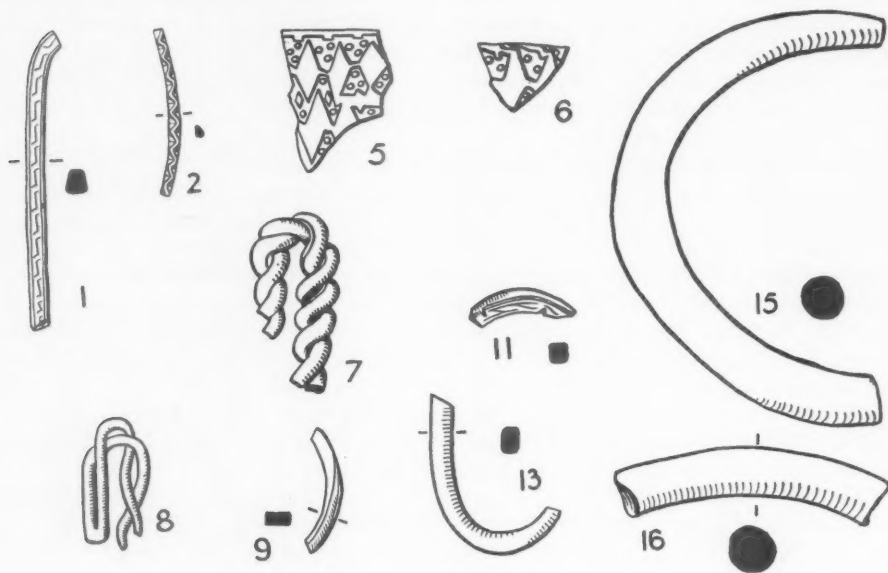


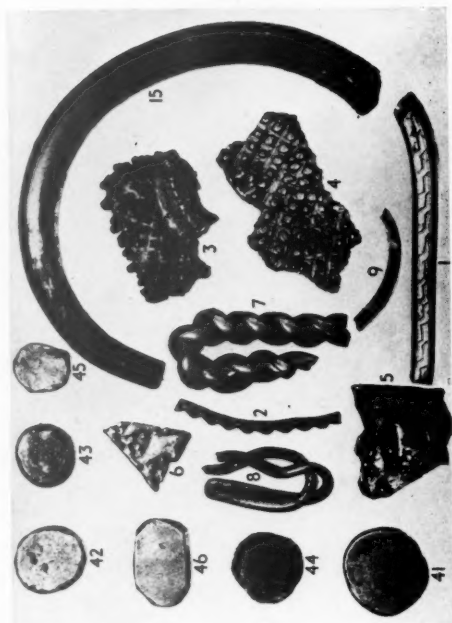
FIG. 2. Fragments of jewellery (†).

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF BULLION

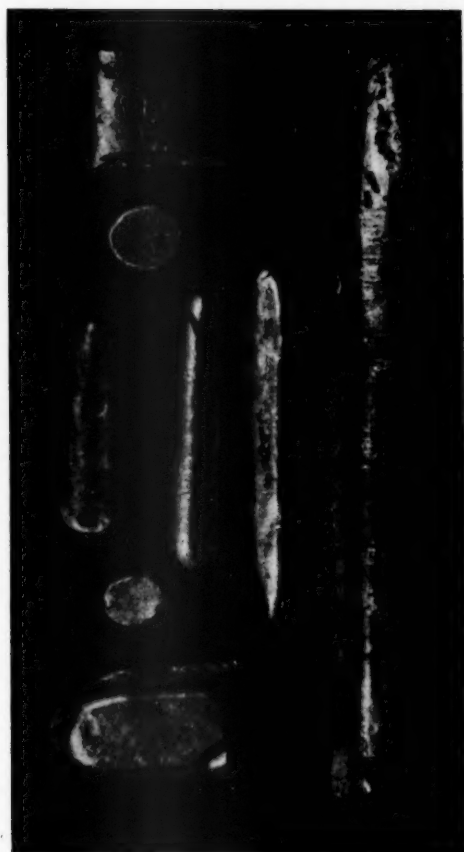
Decorated fragments

1. Square bar, 45 mm. long (fig. 2; pl. ix, c), decorated on two sides with short lines turned sharply at the ends. It is part of a pin of a large brooch and this type of decoration appears to be fairly common. Wt. 7.03.¹
2. Fragment of a thin bracelet (?), 26 mm. long (fig. 2, pl. ix, c), with a carefully cut, zigzag pattern in faceted relief. Wt. 0.62.
3. A much flattened bent and damaged fragment of a thistle-brooch (pl. ix, c). Wt. 6.95.
4. A similar, flattened fragment with the points hammered (pl. ix, c). Wt. 6.02.
5. A small fragment of thin plate, slightly less than 1 mm. in thickness, decorated on one side with a pattern of lozenges and dots (fig. 2, pl. ix c). This is very similar to a fragment in the hoard from Bangor-on-Dee (*A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology*, pl. x, no. 14). Wt. 1.67.
6. A smaller fragment from the same plate. Wt. 0.52.

¹ All weights are given in grammes. The writer is much indebted to Mr. H. Robinson, Chief Inspector of Weights and Measures, Chester, for assistance in weighing the bullion.



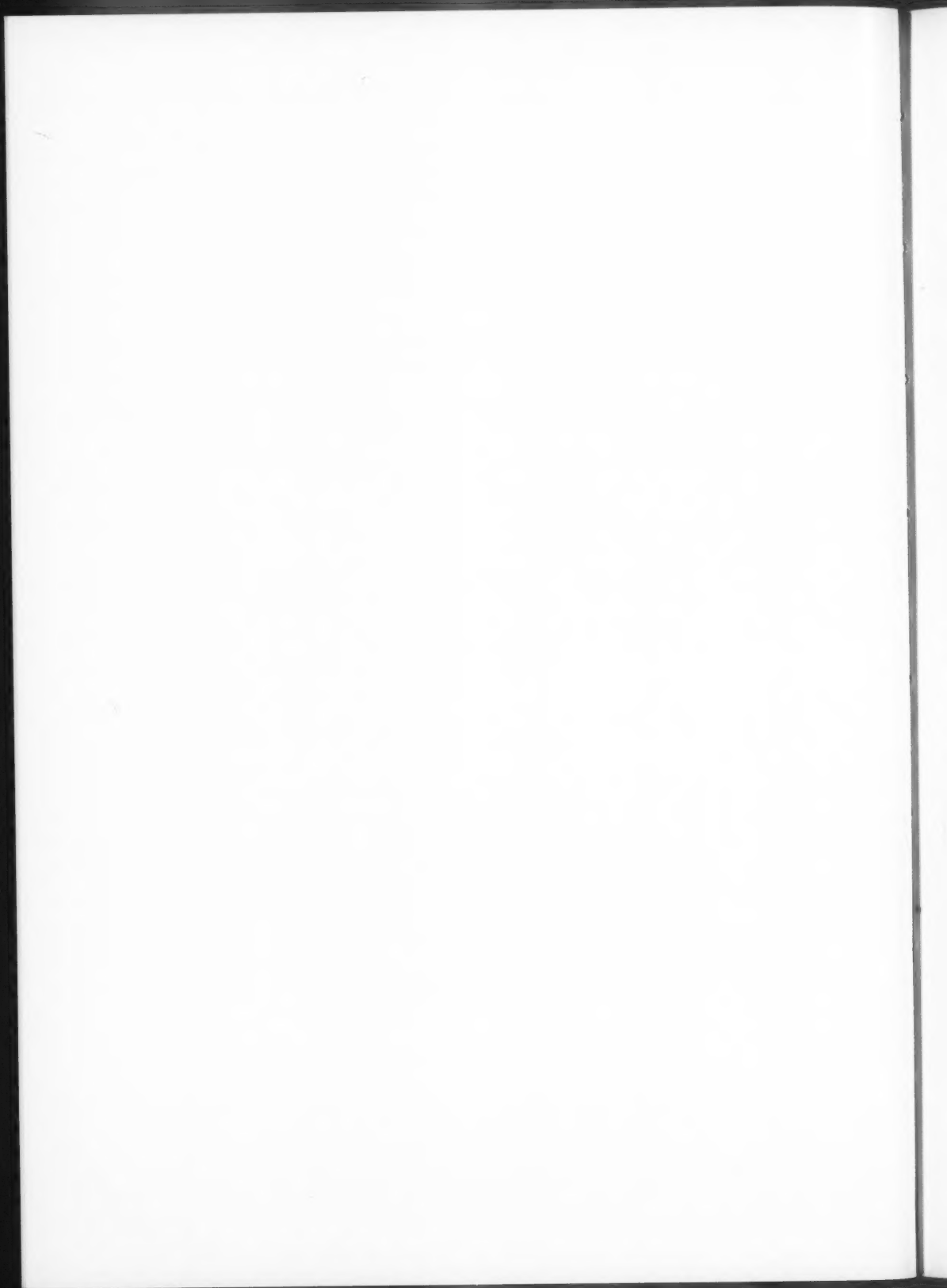
b. Fragments of jewellery, etc. ($\frac{1}{2}$)



c. The ingots ($\frac{1}{2}$)



d. The container ($\frac{1}{2}$)



Plain fragments

7. A bent fragment of a twisted bracelet of double strand, each consisting of a round bar 3 mm. in diameter (fig. 2, pl. ix, c).

Other fragments

There were thirty-three fragments of bar, both rounded and square in section, the diameters being mostly 5 to 6 mm. A notable characteristic of these bars is that the ends taper, in one case (no. 15) from 7 to 4½ mm. The curve of these fragments is generally too small for them to have been bracelets and it is more likely that they were parts of brooches.

Among the more interesting pieces of bullion are six small, flat discs about 2 mm. thick (pl. ix, b). There is a possibility that these discs were coin-blanks. The variation in weight, however, from 3.50 to 0.82 grammes (the average weight of a coin is 1.4 grammes) is not a point in favour of this suggestion. There are ten small ingots which had been hammered out into flat bars; the longest (no. 55), 27 mm. long, has a cut end and is also the heaviest, weighing 7.06 grammes.

The complete ingots, of which there are eleven, vary considerably in size. The largest (no. 51) is 117 mm. long and 15 mm. wide, weighing 127.82 grammes (pl. ix, c). The rest are between 30 and 40 mm. long and their average weight 19.23 grammes. Their cross-sections show that they have been run into small troughs probably scooped out in sand. There are eleven ingots which have one end cut; their average weight is 16.87 grammes. Twenty-three small fragments are the ends of ingots, about 10 mm. long; all weigh less than 10 grammes each and twelve below 5 grammes each.

There are thirty-eight slices from ingots with both ends cut; the largest is 22 mm. long (no. 105), and all but three weigh below 10 grammes. There is a small fused mass of silver weighing 4.10 grammes and two small coils of silver wire weighing 1.01 and 1.74 grammes.

A NOTE ON THE COINS

By R. H. DOLLEY

The 522 coins in the find make this the largest Saxon coin hoard to be discovered in this country for nearly 100 years, and the first major hoard to be studied in the context of recent progress in the field of Anglo-Saxon numismatics. It is tragic that 50 at least, and perhaps 100, of the coins were lost, some deliberately destroyed in ignorance of their nature and others concealed. The efforts of Mr. Graham Webster and Mr. Alan Warhurst deserve special recognition. The appraisal of a hoard of this size is proving a lengthy business, but a date has already been established with fair precision. The latest coins are of Eadgar, and comprise three of the six Brooke types. While the exact sequence of Anglo-Saxon coin types has still to be established, and even the existence of a chronological sequence is still far from certain, it is significant that the three absentee types are the extremely rare floral issues and the small bust type. The former almost certainly lie outside any chronological sequence, while the small bust type was to be standard under Eadward the Martyr. Consequently it would appear reasonable to date the hoard to the latter part of Eadgar's reign, perhaps with a bias to a date *circa* A.D. 970. It is perhaps a little later than the St. John's hoard¹ which contains no coins of portrait type, but this hoard was almost entirely local in origin and had many exceptional features.

¹ C.A.J. ii (O.S.), 289.

While Chester moneyers were well represented in the hoard, the hoard did not provide the new Chester moneyers that might have been expected, nor were any coins identified of Brooke unpublished moneyers of the Chester Mint, such as Saelces and Teothuc already represented in the Grosvenor Museum Collection. It has not yet been possible to correlate the hoard with the celebrated but as yet unpublished Willoughby Gardner collection now acquired for the Grosvenor Museum, but a recent glance through Dr. Gardner's trays suggests that the Chester hoard contains very little that he lacks. The proportion of coins with mint signature is about one in five, and the mints include Barnstable, Bath, Bedford, Canterbury, Chester, Derby, Dorchester, Exeter (?), Hertford, Huntingdon, London, Newark (or Newport?), Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Tamworth, Totnes, Winchester, and York. Some twenty-five coins in this category belong to Chester, but it is by no means certain that this proportion holds good for the coins without mint signature.

In a note of this nature it is possible to indicate only the highlights of the find. These include two new types, one of them entirely new and the other a revival of unusual significance. The former is a curious coin of Eadwig, quite unprecedented in style as well as type; the latter a halfpenny of Eadgar with the London monogram reverse introduced by Halfdene the Viking. This piece of conscious and deliberate archaism was probably intended to imply Eadgar's completion of the task begun by Alfred. From the hoard, too, we find that Totnes and Barnstable alike were striking under Eadwig. Hitherto Totnes was unrecorded before Eadgar and Barnstable did not appear before Æthelred II.

It is perhaps surprising that the hoard contains so few names of moneyers hitherto unknown, but this is more than compensated for by the extent to which light is shed on the activities of recorded moneyers. For example, we now know that Secgse, who struck portrait coins at Norwich under Eadred, had begun working there at least as early as Æthelstan, and that there is in fact no break in the activities of the York moneyer Heremod under Eadred. Emendations of this nature may appear trifling, but their cumulative effect is enormous, and it is a commentary on the poverty of our knowledge of the tenth-century English coinage that the discovery of just over 500 coins should necessitate some 120 emendations to the 1950 edition of Brooke's *English Coins*. The strengthening of the national collection is most noticeable under Eadred and Eadwig, where the acquisition of 48 and 47 coins respectively increases the Museum's total by roughly a third and a half. In the case of Eadwig, the Museum now possesses four times as many coins as appear in the 1893 catalogue, and the accretion would have been even more striking had it not been for the recent acquisition of a superb run of Heriger pence from the Tetney hoard. Significant, too, is the accession of no fewer than five half-pennies. It is now clear that halfpennies were by no means exceptional issues in the tenth century, and that it is the small size of the coin that explains their rarity.

Problems on which the hoard is expected to throw valuable light include the division of HAM coins as between Northampton and Southampton, the possible introduction of a system of privy marks under Eadred, the significance of rosettes, and the mint attribution of Eadwig and Eadgar coins with three line legends on

the reverse. This study will necessarily be long and at times unrewarding, but there is every reason to hope that the Chester hoard will mark a turning-point in our knowledge of the tenth-century English coinage.

A NOTE ON THE LATE SAXON POT CONTAINING THE HOARD

By G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

The vessel (fig. 3, *a*; pl. ix, *a*) which had been used to contain the coin hoard is a domestic cooking-pot of the kind frequently found on settlement sites of the Late Saxon period. It is wheel-turned, 5.6 in. high and 6.1 in. diameter at the shoulder. The ware is fired very hard, varies in colour from dark grey to buff, and the paste is

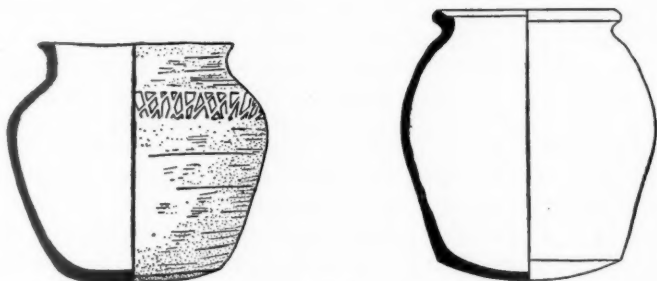


FIG. 3.

a. The container of the hoard ($\frac{1}{4}$).

b. Pot found on the site of the Queen's Head Hotel, Foregate Street, Chester in 1938 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

freely mixed with sand and a few stone grits; the surface is smoothed but slightly harsh to the touch. The pot has a flat-topped rim with thin outer edge, slightly concave neck, high rounded shoulder, and a sagging base. Round the upper part of the bulge is a wide band of rough trellis-pattern, lightly impressed by a roller-stamp $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, but there is insufficient of the stamp to determine its diameter.

The shape of the pot is shorter and broader, and the bulge is more strongly curved than usual in pottery of this class. The more prevalent shape is shown by another pot from Chester (fig. 3, *b*), found on the site of the Queen's Head Hotel, Foregate Street, in 1938. This is of fine light red ware, with smooth buff surface, and is undecorated, but there are small spots of yellow glaze on the base. The taller shape, more rounded profile, and particularly the everted rim hollowed on the inner side, are characteristic of many of the cooking-pots of this type from East Anglia and the Midlands.

The Chester pots belong to a ceramic group introduced into eastern England from the Rhineland in the late eighth or ninth century. This forms the dominant culture in the Late Saxon period in East Anglia, and there remained almost unchanged until the Norman period. The culture is best known from the large-scale

excavations at the Saxon town of Thetford¹ conducted by the Ministry of Works, and from a group of huts at St. Neots.² At Thetford the pottery industry was well organized and production was on a large scale; the pots were turned on the wheel and fired in kilns, which have been found and excavated. In East Anglia there is a well-marked regional difference in the wares, though the range of pottery types remains fairly constant. At Thetford and other sites in Norfolk and Suffolk the pottery, apart from jugs and pitchers of finer quality, is almost wholly sandy in texture. At St. Neots and other sites along the Ouse, such as Cambridge and Bedford, the backing is usually crushed white shell. The shell-filled ware is also found at Northampton and farther north at Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, Lincoln (Flaxengate), and York. The bulk of the pottery in the Midlands is, however, made in the harder sandy fabric, and this predominates in the material published from Stamford³ and from the Jewry Wall site at Leicester.⁴ The pottery from the places mentioned is made in a single ceramic tradition and shows little variation in details such as rim-sections and methods of decoration; at Leicester and Stamford, for instance, many of the cooking-pots have roller-stamped patterns on the rim or shoulder, and to a large extent the rim-sections are variants of the basic type as represented on the cooking-pot from Foregate Street, Chester.

In the Midlands the earliest dated material is from Northampton, where the pottery was found in pits in association with coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some of the other sites, such as Stamford Castle and Alstoe Mount, near Oakham, are mottes of the Norman period. In this region the range of dates thus extends, on the evidence as yet known, from the tenth century until the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

This brief survey makes it apparent that the recent discovery at Chester is of some archaeological importance for the study of Late Saxon pottery. Chester is the farthest north-west for this class of wheel-turned pottery, and at present sites intermediate between Chester and those in the Midlands are lacking. Moreover, the find is closely dated, and shows that this type of pottery extended across the Midlands as far as Chester in the course of the tenth century. The nature of these archaeological facts suggests that it is possible to relate the arrival of this ceramic style at Chester to the historical evidence. The distribution of this pottery in the Midlands shows it to be grouped within the Danelaw, where, on the evidence as yet available, it dates at earliest from the tenth century and lasted into the Norman period. Chester is in Mercian territory, and the presence of this type of pottery there is reasonably explained by the reconquest of the Danelaw by the Mercians early in the tenth century. As a result Chester regained its importance as a military centre, trade revived, and it developed into a place of wealth. In his paper on 'Chester in the Dark Ages' Mr. Graham Webster⁵ remarked on the need to recognize pottery as an indication of the areas of settlement; a useful start has now been made with the pottery discussed in this note.

¹ Interim reports in *Archaeological News Letter*, January and August 1950. Summary in *Arch. Journ.* cvi, 72.

² *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* xxxiii, 137.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 402 ff.

⁴ K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (1948), pp. 222-8.

⁵ *Chester Arch. Journ.* xxxviii (1951), p. 46.

THE CASTLE OF ST. GEORGES-D'ESPÉRANCHE¹

By A. J. TAYLOR, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

THE castle of St. Georges-d'Espérance has a direct and immediate interest for English readers as being the place where, on 25th June 1273, Count Philip of Savoy rendered homage to his great-nephew, the as yet uncrowned King Edward I, for the Alpine passes and towns which, by an arrangement dating from 1246, were held by the counts of Savoy of the kings of England.² Amongst those noted as being present with the king on that occasion were Otto de Grandison, John de Vescy, and Roger de Clifford; these men had been in Edward's company on the crusade from which he was then returning and, a few years later, were to play prominent parts in the English wars and settlement in Wales. Others who were probably there were Robert de Tibetot, the future justiciar of west Wales, and Payn de Chaworth,³ lord of Kidwelly, who in 1277 was to be captain of the English army in west Wales and who, at about that date, rebuilt the inner ward of Kidwelly Castle. St. Georges is interesting, however, not only as the scene of this vividly recorded incident of the king's travels,⁴ but also because the castle itself is a building which may not be unrelated, through its builders and the personal familiarity with it of Edward, Edmund of Lancaster, and their confidantes, to the new castles built in Wales in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

HISTORY

St. Georges-d'Espérance lies in the hill country which fringes the south side of the Rhône plain, 20 kilometres south-east of Lyon and 15 kilometres east-north-east of Vienne; in the thirteenth century it formed part of a Savoy enclave within the territory of the dauphins of the Viennois. The uplands, which are still well wooded, were then largely forest, providing good hunting-country for the count of Savoy and his guests.⁵ A mile or two to the north runs the Roman road from Vienne to

¹ The preparation of this paper has been assisted by a Leverhulme research grant, and I am glad to have this opportunity of recording my indebtedness to the trustees. I also wish gratefully to acknowledge much kindness and help received from Dr. Joseph Saunier, of Heyrieux. I have to thank M. Robert Avezou, Archiviste en chef, Archives Départementales de l'Isère et de l'Ancienne Province de Dauphiné, for allowing me ready access to the records in his care at Grenoble and granting facilities for photographing the plan of the castle reproduced opposite p. 41. The archivist in charge of the Archives Départementales de la Savoie at Chambéry, M. Jean Sablou, and his staff, also went to much trouble to enable me to consult records only recently

transferred there from Italy. My special thanks are due to Dr. Augusta Lange and her colleagues of the Archivio di Stato for affording me facilities, sometimes at very short notice, to work on the Savoy archives preserved at Turin; and to M. J. Cellard, of Lyon, for taking the air photograph reproduced opposite p. 40.

² Sir Frederick Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), i, pp. 364-6, and ii, pp. 612-13.

³ *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i, p. 445.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. Rec. Commn.), i, ii, p. 504.

⁵ I owe this information to Dr. Saunier, who tells me the district was called the forêt de Chanoz.

Lemincum (Chambéry) and so on to the Little St. Bernard and Mont Cenis passes into north Italy. Throughout the middle ages this was one of the trunk routes of Europe, and to this day local place-names in the immediate neighbourhood of St.

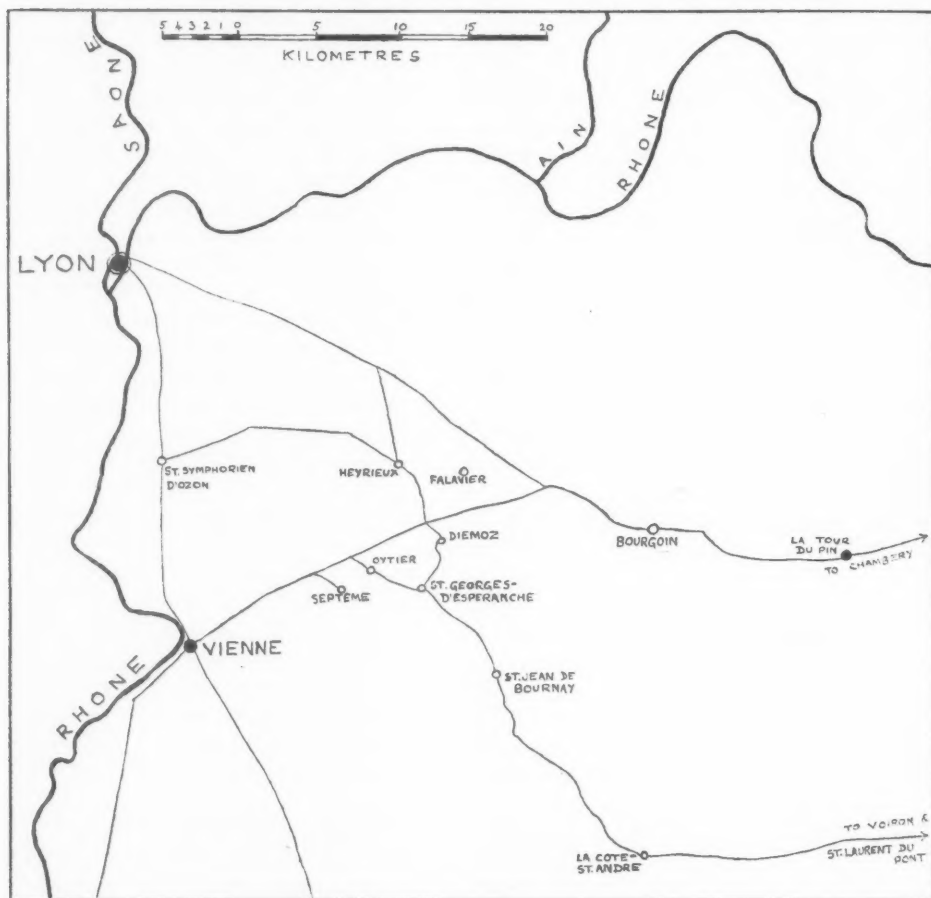


FIG. 1. Sketch Map of principal places named in the text.

Georges, e.g. Septème, Oytier, and Diémoz,¹ mark the distances along it in Roman miles from Vienne. Between Diémoz and Bourgoin (*Burgusium*) a second road branched north-westwards to Lyon, which could also be reached directly from St. Georges by a connecting road through Diémoz and Heyrieux.²

Before the middle of the thirteenth century Espérance (La Pérance is the name

¹ *Ad Septimum, Octavum, Duodecimum lapidem* respectively.

² C. U. J. Chevalier, *Régeste Dauphinois*, ii, no. 11396, and iii, no. 11683.

of a local stream) was a grange of the neighbouring Cistercian abbey of Bonnevaux, whose monks acquired it between 1151 and 1159 from a certain Galanus de Dueismo (Diémoz).¹ The village church belonged to the Cluniac priory of St. Oblas near Oytier, a daughter house of the abbey of St. Peter de Vienne; its dedication, which gave the place the name by which it is more generally known, points to a settlement of some antiquity. In the years 1249–50 the house of Savoy, in the persons of the future counts Peter and Philip, brothers of the reigning count Amadeus IV, was consolidating its position in the Viennois by the systematic acquisition of castles, lands, and lordships. At this date there was as yet no castle at St. Georges, but a series of transactions entered into in these two years paved the way for the foundation of one. First, and in the present context most important, came the purchase by Peter of Savoy, in December 1249, for 500 livres viennois, of the castle and territory of Septême from its lord, William de Beauvoir,² a transfer which gave Peter feudal lordship, under the archbishop of Vienne, over territories which were afterwards detached to form the new independent castellany of St. Georges-d'Espérance. A month later he purchased the *grangia de Perenchia* from the monks of Bonnevaux for the sum of 15,000 shillings viennois, the abbey retaining rents worth £20. 10s. a year.³ Next, in August 1250, Peter acquired from William de Beauvoir's son, another William, the castle and lordship of Falavier, regranting it to be held of him for life.⁴ In September he obtained control over the castles of La Tour du Pin, Bourgoin, and St. Jean de Bournay,⁵ which were subsequently recovered by the dauphin. In October William de Beauvoir, lord of Falavier, granted to Peter's brother Philip of Savoy, archbishop of Lyon and lord of St. Symphorien-d'Ozon, his rents in St. Symphorien.⁶ Control of these neighbouring castles was a prerequisite to the setting up of a new foundation at St. Georges. Between 1250 and 1256 Peter of Savoy appears to have made over to his brother Philip some at least of the newly acquired lordships,⁷ and it was most likely during this interval that one or other of the brothers, more probably Philip, gave formal foundation to St. Georges as a characteristic thirteenth-century *ville neuve*.⁸

¹ Acad. Delphinale, Docts. Inédits Relatifs au Dauphiné, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye N-D de Bonnevaux* (Abbaye N-D de Tamie, Savoie, 1942), no. 169.

² Chevalier, *op. cit.* (cited henceforth as *Rég. Dauph.*), ii, no. 8580.

³ Grenoble, Archives de l'Isère, Série B, 3604, paquet 1, no. 2, where the bounds of the grange are set out in detail.

⁴ *Ibid.*, paquet 4, no. 1; cf. *Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 8670.

⁵ *Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 8671.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 8685.

⁷ He still claimed the lordship of Septême as his in 1266 (*Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 10406).

⁸ According to the 15th-century *Chroniques de Savoye* (*Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, Script. ii, Turin, 1839), col. 171, 'Saint Gregoyre d'Esperance' was one of a group of castles in the pays de Vaud

founded by Peter, not Philip, of Savoy. But the chronicle is notoriously unreliable, and has a tendency to give Count Peter credit for activities known to be assignable to other members of the family. The castle of Morges, for example, on the lake of Geneva, which record evidence (cf. A. Milllioud, *Le Seigneur de Vuflens et La Ville de Morges, 1286–1296*, Lausanne, 1898) shows to have been built by Peter's nephew, Lewis of Savoy, is ascribed by the chronicle to Peter himself. It is almost certainly so in the present instance. Not only is there the confusion of St. George with St. Gregory (an addition to the instances cited in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1950, p. 444, note 7), but the placing of St. Georges-d'Espérance in the Vaud is wildly inaccurate. The charter evidence, such as it is, points unmistakably to Philip as the founder. There is at Grenoble a 16th-century transcript (B. 3952, no. 2) of a charter of Count Amadeus V, dated 1 Feb.

Like many *bastides* it appears at first to have had no castle of its own and may have stood in some relationship to the castle of Septême, five miles away.¹ In such circumstances it is more than likely that the town walls, of which scarcely a trace remains today, were built at this time: the town occupies a naturally strong position on a narrowing promontory between two ravines, a site which, besides dictating its street plan, must have facilitated its fortification. When we next hear of the place, in 1256, it is in reference to the sale of land at Charentonnay, near St. Georges, to 'Philip of Savoy, primate elect of Lyon and lord of the town of St. Georges' ('Philippo prime Lugdunensis ecclesie Electo, domino ville sancti Georgii').² A document of 1262, known only in the abbreviated form in which it was listed in a Grenoble inventory drawn up in 1346,³ records an agreement between Philip of Savoy and the dauphin Guy d'Albon 'super questionibus castrorum de Annonay, de Argentautz, de Septemo et de Villa Nova'. The last two words can be shown from a fuller record of 1266⁴ to refer to St. Georges, and at first sight the phrase might be read as implying that there was already a castle there in 1262. But the 1266 record, by drawing a clear distinction between the *castrum et mandamentum* of Septême and the *villa nova* of Espéranché, shows that this was not the case. The purpose of the document in question is to record the formal abandonment by the dauphin, in favour of Philip, of any rights he might have over the two places named in exchange for the castles of Annonay and Argental, and in a matter so important it is unlikely that if a castle had existed at St. Georges in 1266 it would not have been specifically mentioned in a record of this nature.

In 1268 Philip, having resigned his extensive ecclesiastical benefices⁵ and married Alice, countess of Burgundy, succeeded on the death of his brother Peter to the county of Savoy. One is disposed to think that there may have been a direct connexion between the loss of ecclesiastical residences, particularly the archiepiscopal palace at Lyon and the bishop's palace at Valence, which this change of status involved, and the building of the new castle at St. Georges, for Philip certainly came to look upon it as one of his favourite dwellings. It was here above all that he entertained notable guests, a use for which its position within easy riding distance of Lyon well fitted it. More than one document of the 1270's speaks of it as his *palacium*, a term never so far as we know used of any other of the Savoy castles.⁶

How soon after 1266 the building of the castle of St. Georges actually began it is

1291, confirming an undated grant by Philip of Savoy to the 'burgenses et habitatores ville sancti Georgii de Esperenchia' of the liberties and franchises of the burgesses of Lyon. Such a grant would almost certainly have been the foundation charter.

¹ This is an inference from the fact that there is no evidence for an independent castellany of St. Georges before 1270. Until then its territory lay within the *mandement* of Septême. The *mandement* is defined as 'cette unité territoriale, la plus petite unité civile, sur laquelle s'exerce l'administration du châtelain. C'est à la fois la terre qui lui est confiée et celle où il commande, selon les deux sens de "mandare";' I owe this definition to M. Avezou.

² *Rég. Dauph.* ii, nos. 9223, 9224.

³ C. U. J. Chevalier, *Invent. Arch. Dauph.* 1346, no. 402.

⁴ *Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 10406.

⁵ For a full list of these see J. Beyssac, *Les Chanoines de l'église de Lyon* (Lyon, 1914), p. 52, for a reference to which I have to thank M. René Lacour, Director of the Archives du Rhône at Lyon. Besides the archbishopric of Lyon and bishopric of Valence, they included, in England, the churches of Geddington, Wingham, and Reculver.

⁶ Chambéry, Archives de la Savoie, Inv. 135, fol. 17, paquet 14, no. 6.

not possible to say. Part of it is likely to have been in occupation by March 1271, the date of the first of an important series of instruments drawn up and signed there.¹ Building accounts for works on the castle during the period 1270-2 were in existence until 1793, but alas no longer survive. There are also a number of references in the Savoy household accounts, mostly preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Turin, which show that payments in connexion with works at the castle continued to be made during the years 1272-5, by which date, if not actually finished, it must have been very near to completion. The following table sets out in chronological order the principal documentary evidence which it has been possible to recover for the building and use of the castle during its earliest years:²

- 1270-2. 'Deux comptes de Thomas de Becunet châtelain de St. George de Livrées par lui faites à divers ouvriers pour la fabrique et des livrées à l'occasion du reçu des droits de la châtellerie de St. George.'³
- 3 Aug. 1271. 'Sentence prononcée par Edmond, fils du roi d' Angleterre, et Philippe, comte de Savoie et de Bourgogne, arbitres nommés entre la dauphine Béatrix, dame de Faucigny, et Béatrix de Villars-Thoire et ses enfants Humbert, seigneur de Thoire et Villars, et Henri, chantre de Lyon, au sujet des biens et de l'hoirie d'Aimon de Faucigny. . . *Actum apud Sanctum Georgium de Speranchia*.'⁴
- 3-11 Aug. 1271. Count Philip and his court in residence at St. Georges.⁵
- 10 Aug. 1271. *At St. Georges*. '(Pro) camera domini mundanda, viij.d.'⁶
- 18 Apr. 1272. *At Evian*. '(Dona). Preposito carpentario de Sancto Georgio, iij.sol.'
- 25 June 1273. Edward I at St. Georges.
- 21 Sept. 1273.* *At Chambery*. 'Magistro Jacobo lathomo misso in Viennensem, xiiij.s.'
- Nov. 1273. Pope Gregory X at St. Georges.⁷
- 1 Mar. 1274. *At Evian*. 'Item libravi eodem die Andree de Voyrone clerico, pro portando in Viennensem, videlicet pro operibus de Sancto Laurencio de Deserto ije. lib., pro operibus de Costa centum lib., et pro operibus Sancti Georgii centum lib. tradendis, iiije. lib. vien.'
- 18 Mar. 1274.* *At Evian*. 'Magistro Jacobo lathomo pro expensis suis redeundo ad Sanctum Georgium, x.s.'
- 20 Mar. 1274. *At Evian*. 'Andree de Voyrone misso in Viennensem et Sabaudiam, xx.s.'
- 23 Apr. 1274. *At Evian*. 'Magistro Guidoni citernario⁸ pro roba, lx.s''

¹ *Rég. Dauph.* ii, nos. 10946, 10965, 10980, 11167, 11190, and 11191.

² Entries marked with an asterisk have already been printed in my paper, 'Master James of St. George' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1950, pp. 433-57). Except for that dated 10 Aug. 1271, the remainder are here published for the first time. Unless otherwise noted, the entries are extracted from the enrolled accounts of Count Philip's household preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Turin (Inv. Savoia 38, fol. 46, nos. 2 and 4).

³ Mario Chiaudano, *La Finanza Sabauda nel sec. xiii* (Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, vols. cxxxi-cxxxiii), Torino, 1933-8, i, pp. xiv and xvi.

⁴ *Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 10980.

⁵ Chiaudano, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.* ii, p. 123.

⁷ Evidence for this is contained in two undated entries, both of which appear to refer to the first fortnight in Nov., 1273: 'habuimus apud sanctum Georgium quando papa venit ibi de vino Guillelmi de Anziaco lxxvj. som.'; 'debentur pro pane sancti Georgii quando papa fuit ibi Perroto Delso, ix. lb. xvj.s.'.

⁸ Unextended, the reading is *cit'nario* and this can hardly represent *cimentario*. A Chillon account of 1266 (Arch. Stat. Turin, Inv. Sav. 69, fol. 5, i, 3 (6)) records the purchase of blue, striped, and cameline material for the robes of, *inter alios*, 'magistri facientis scisternas', with whom Master Guido *citernarius* may perhaps be identi-

- 5 June 1274. *At Cossonay.* 'Magistro Jacobo lathomo pro xxx^{ta} diebus quibus fuit in operibus domini in Viennense, lx.s.'
- 6 Aug. 1274. *At Voiron.* 'Magistro Guidoni citernario¹ pro labore suo de turribus Sancti Georgii, et de hiis quas fecit apud Voyronem, C.s.'
- 16 Dec. 1274. *At St. Georges.* '(Dona). Item Philippo carpentario, xl.s.; Tybaud^o carpentario, xl.s.'
- Christmas Day 1274. Count Philip's guests at St. Georges include Sir Otto de Grandison.
- 28 Jan. 1275. *At St. Georges.* 'Thome cuniculario² pro fossatis Sancti Georgii plaissandis, rongiis plantandis et pluribus aliis faciendis, xxv.s. vj.d.'
- 18 Feb. 1275. *At St. Georges.* A note of payments made 'apud Sanctum Georgium quando venit dominus papa ibidem'; this visit appears to be additional to that of Nov. 1273.
- 25 May 1275. *At St. Georges.* 'Guioneto lathomo veniendo et redeundo de Sancto Georgio, sibi et cuidam homini de Lugduno qui fecit ingenium Rotarum (i.e. Rue, in the pays de Vaud), xxx.s.'
- 16 July 1275. *At Voiron.* '(Dona). Philippo carpentario de Sancto Georgio, xl.s.'
- 24 July 1275. *At Voiron.* 'Magistro Tybaudo carpentario per octo dies xij.s.; pro tribus fenestris faciendis et ponendis in garderoba Sancti Georgii, iij.s.'
- 18 Aug. 1275. 'Domino Guigoni de Vercort et Guidoni lathomo missis ad Sanctum Georgium, xv.s.'
- Nov. 1277. Of five deeds executed with reference to losses to tenants arising from the enlarging of the lake (*stannum*) at Falavier, one is dated as 'Actum in palacio Sancti Georgii, in aula', and another as 'Actum in palacio Sancti Georgii, ante hostium aule'.³
- Mar. 1278. Payment of £16. 16s. 11d. 'mistrali de Burgeto pro novem milibus et sex centum piscium positorum in stanna domini Falaverii et Sancti Georgii.'

These records suggest that work on the castle probably began in about 1268 or 1269; that by the beginning of 1271 some part of it was already in use; that already by 1270 building was sufficiently advanced to allow the establishment of a castellany and the appointment of a constable, Thomas of Béthune, in whose name the works accounts were thenceforward kept; that work on the building went on for a further three years or so, some or all of the towers probably having been only recently completed in August 1274, when a gratuity was paid for work on them. Even in 1275 and later, steps were still being taken to round off the new establishment and put it on a firm footing. In each of the three years 1275,⁴ 1276,⁵ and 1277⁶ Count

fied. He is likely to be the same as the Guido *lathomus* of the Aug. 1275 entry, who in turn is probably identical with the 'Guido lathomus de Voyrone' who in Aug. 1274 was paid 'pro aqua infra castrum Voyron' aducendo'. Besides his work at Voiron and St. Georges, Master Guido was employed at Chatel d'Argent and Bard in the Val d'Aosta between 1274 and 1277 (Turin, Inv. Sav. 68, fol. 2, i, 2 and fol. 29, i, 3 respectively). He had a brother called Petrinus who was also employed on task work in 1274: 'Petrino fratri Guidonis lathomi de Voyrone de taschia sibi facta de conductu aque, xx. s.' (*ibid.* 38, fol. 46, i, 3). He

may be the *Guionetus lathomus* to whom work on the castle of St. Laurent-du-Pont was assigned by Master James in 1274-5 (Chambéry, Inv. Sav. 32, fol. 14, no. 66), who gave an estimate for work at Seyssel in 1278 (*ibid.* 51, fol. 257, Mazzo 1), and who visited St. Georges in May 1275.

¹ See footnote 8 on p. 37.

² In military usage the word means 'a miner' (Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v.).

³ Chambéry, Archives de la Savoie, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Rég. Dauph.* ii, no. 11396.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 11519.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, no. 11683.

Philip acquired additional properties in or on the outskirts of the town of St. Georges. In 1276 formal record was made of the 'limitationes et terminos territorium et jurisdictionum castrorum de Septemo ex una parte, de Bello Videre ex altera, et de Sancto Georgio de Esperenchia ex altera',¹ and in 1280 the count granted the burgesses an additional charter.²

Although, thanks to the French revolutionaries, no actual building accounts for St. Georges have come down to us, a perusal of the foregoing dates and documents reveals two points which may have a bearing on English castle studies. The first is that, only four years before the initiation in Wales of the great programme of castle-building which continued from 1277 to the end of the century, the principal directors of that programme had paid visits to St. Georges. Besides King Edward himself there was his intimate friend and adviser Sir Otto de Grandison, himself a Savoyard, and his brother Edmund of Lancaster, accompanied, as we may reasonably suppose, by his own principal household knight, Otto's brother William de Grandison. With Otto would no doubt be his own chief household knight, Sir John de Bonovillario, who, with William, was very closely concerned in the building of the Welsh castles between 1283 and 1287. One should not over-emphasize the possible importance of the personal acquaintance of these men and their staffs with St. Georges. Thirteenth-century magnates, especially those who went on crusade, were familiar with castles of every type and size. But the fact is none the less worth remarking that the castle of St. Georges-d'Espérance was Count Philip's latest and favourite creation; that his relations with Edward and Edmund were those of close kinship and personal affection; and that at the operative dates the castle itself was so new that parts of it were still under construction, so that Edward and his circle, themselves shortly to be engaged in castle-building on a very large scale, actually saw it in building. If there is anything at all in the theory that in the middle ages the design of one building might sometimes influence in greater or less degree the design of others,³ certainly we have here conditions which might play a part in the transference, in this matter of castle-building, of ideas from the Continent to north Wales.

It is here that we see the possible significance of a second consideration suggested by the documents. The principal architectural director of the castle works in north Wales, from at least as early as March 1278 onwards, was the master mason known to English records as James of St. George. Elsewhere the suggestion has been put forward that it was from St. Georges-d'Espérance that this Master James took his name, from it 'having been either his birth-place or the professional headquarters from which he set out for England and to which, in his new sphere, he looked back as his home'.⁴ In the absence of the actual works accounts, there is tantalizingly little documentary evidence to connect him specifically with the building of the

¹ Chevalier, *Invent. Arch. Dauph.* 1346, no. 351.

² Grenoble, Archives de l'Isère B, 3952, paquet 1.

³ There is, indeed, much documentary evidence to support it. For an instance of a 13th-century architect being instructed to copy an existing tower

in one castle when building a new tower at another, see Mortet et Deschamps, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture*, vol. ii (Paris, 1929), p. 234. For later instances cf. Salzman, *Building in England* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 473-4 and 548.

⁴ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1950, p. 456.

castle of St. Georges. Nevertheless the Savoy household records do at least show beyond question that Count Philip's principal court architect or master mason was a Magister Jacobus lathomus, and that at any rate in 1274-5, the only years prior to 1278 for which reasonably full household rolls survive, this Master James had a supervisory responsibility over all the count's military building works. And now that we know, as the documents quoted above enable us to know, that it was precisely during these years and those immediately preceding them that the castle of St. Georges was being constructed, it is only natural to suppose that Master James would have been its architect. For, as we have seen, of the many castle-building projects initiated or continued by Philip of Savoy, this was the one which touched his person most closely; this was his palace, this above all was his place of ceremonial, blending as it were something of the characteristics of a Windsor, a Woodstock, or a Clarendon; and the architectural direction of such a project would hardly have devolved on any other than the count's own expert. For confirmation of this thesis we have to be content, so far at least as the documents go, with the entries dated 21st September 1273, 18th March 1274, and 5th June 1274, quoted above, that of 1st March 1274 showing that references to works in the Viennois may fairly be read as including those of St. Georges-d'Espérance. While the documentary evidence for ascribing St. Georges to Master James is thus necessarily scanty, there is architectural evidence which, as will be seen shortly, makes the ascription very likely indeed.

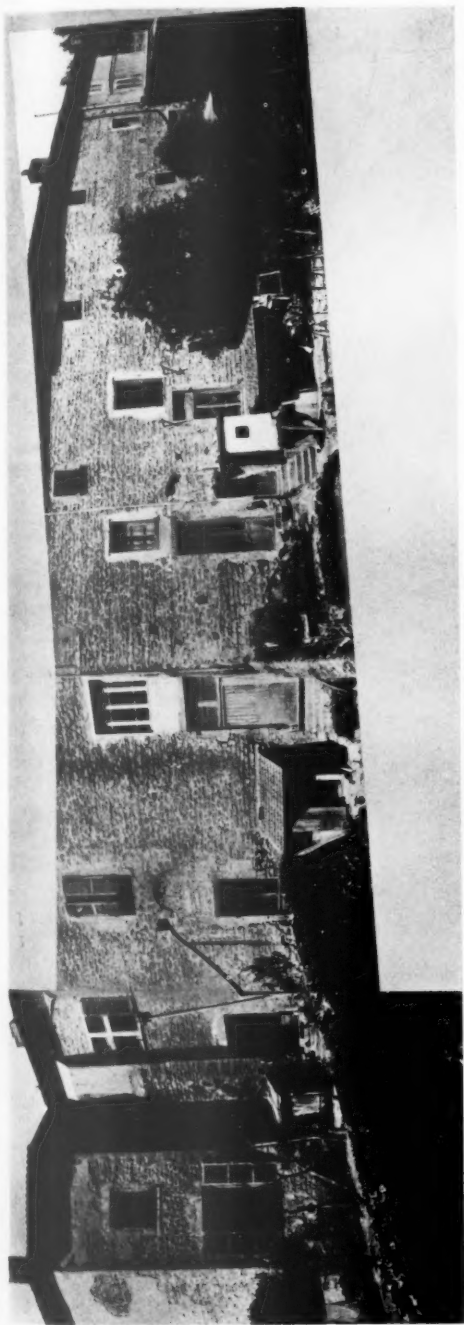
DESCRIPTION

Only a fragment of the castle of St. Georges-d'Espérance is now standing. It consists of the lower part of an octagonal corner tower (forming originally the south-east angle of the main enclosure), with ranges of building running northwards and westwards from it. Of these, the latter has been so extensively rebuilt as to contain no recognizably medieval features. The former has likewise undergone drastic alteration, but a number of original details have survived in the outer face of the eastern wall. Mutilated though they are, these details are of inestimable importance, after the loss of so much else, for establishing the castle's original character, and fuller reference will be made to them later. On the south side there is a pond, its position indicative of a water-filled moat (pl. x, *b*), while a marshy depression of the ground at a similar distance from the east side marks the moat's former continuation. There is now no visible evidence to show whether or not the sides of this moat were revetted in stone.

For the castle's former extent and character there have fortunately survived two sources of information. An early photograph, to which no close date can be assigned but which on general grounds must be of the period *c.* 1870-1900 (pl. x, *c*),¹ shows that part of a second octagonal tower was then still standing at what had been the south-west corner of the castle, and that the south-east tower—since severely truncated—still stood to the full height of its battlements. Our other source is a

¹ The original is one of two photographs in the possession of Me Verrière, of St. Georges. I have to thank the curé of St. Georges, M. Galland, for

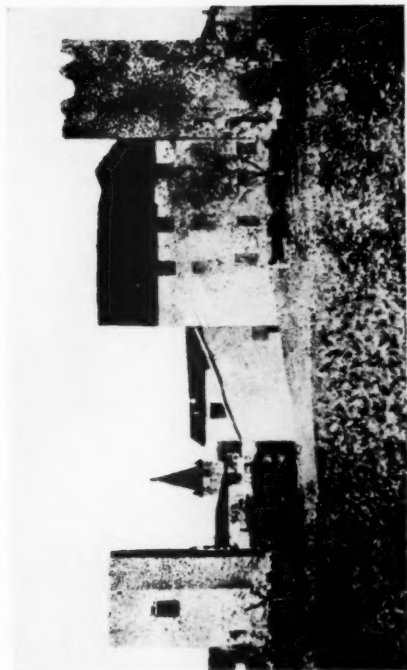
bringing them to my notice, and Dr. Joseph Saunier, of Heyrieux, for kindly supplying the copy here reproduced.



a. Composite view of E. front of castle, 1952



b. Air view from S., 1952. The octagonal tower on the right marks the S.E. corner of the inner ward of the castle
Photo J. Cellard, Lyon



c. View from S., c. 1880. The tower on the right now stands to about half its height; that on the left has been demolished



a.



b.

Details of windows on E. side of castle, showing (a) part of sill and jamb, and (b) part of head, after removal of blocking material

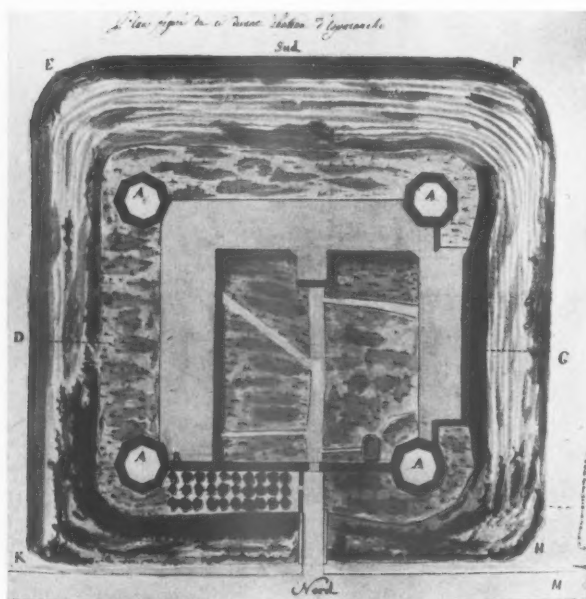


Photo Ch. Piccardy, Grenoble

c. Chabord's plan of 1794 (Archives de l'Isère, Série L, 198/1)

report and colour-wash sketch-plan produced in September 1794 by a certain citizen Chabord, engineer of roads and bridges of the Département de l'Isère¹ (see Appendix). Comparison of Chabord's drawing (pl. xi, c) with the existing remains at the south-east corner shows that as a survey it is far from accurate, but nevertheless as a general picture it is of the greatest value in confirming what, in the absence of excavation, could today only be uncertain deductions from surface indications as to the original ground-plan.

The drawing preserves the record of a symmetrically planned concentric castle, consisting of a single square inner ward with four octagonal corner towers, a narrow enclosing outer ward, and a water-filled moat surrounding the whole. According to the report the moat was 30 ft. to 55 ft. broad and 10 ft. to 18 ft. deep. The buildings within the inner ward appear, so far as the sketch allows one to judge, to have consisted principally of ranges occupying the south and east sides, with a projection inwards from the former which may have contained stairs or a porch at the entrance to the hall—perhaps the *hostium aule* of the deed of November 1277. On the west side there was, at any rate in 1794, a building set astride the line of the curtain and extending out to the edge of the moat, breaking the continuity of the outer ward; this may, however, have been a modification of the original plan. There was no range of building on the north, where the enclosure was completed by a curtain wall containing the gateway, in front of which there was a bridge over the moat. The drawing makes it evident that the inner side of the moat was revetted with a stone retaining wall, which at the corners was set in short straight lengths parallel to the faces of the adjacent towers. Whether this wall originally rose to form a low outer curtain, or whether it merely carried a parapet marking the limit of the outer ward, there is now no means of knowing. At least part of the outer ward itself was probably laid out from the beginning as a garden, planted with shrubs and trees, for St. Georges was essentially a *château de plaisir*, and it is likely that it is the outer ward which is referred to as the count's *viridarium* in the dating clause of a judgement pronounced by Philip of Savoy in May 1275: 'Actum et datum apud Sanctum Georgium de Esperenchia in viridario nostro.'²

Let us now examine the surviving parts of the thirteenth-century structure. As has already been indicated, these are confined to the shell of the truncated octagonal tower at the south-east angle and of the adjoining east range of building. Their present appearance is shown in an accompanying composite photograph.³ The

¹ We owe it to Chabord that at any rate half the castle was spared at the French Revolution. Probably it was as a result of sympathetic reports like that on St. Georges that the Commission des Travaux Publics wanted to dismiss him for not being sufficiently radical. But the Bureau des Ponts et Chaussées of the Isère protested that the Republic could ill afford to replace experts by nobodies, and in Feb. 1795 the threat against him was withdrawn (Grenoble, Archives de l'Isère, Série L. no. 472, fols. 39v.-42).

² Mermet, *Histoire de la ville de Vienne*, tom. iii, p. 525. One may compare the dating clause of a

deed executed at St. Rambert (Ain) in 1263: 'Actum apud Sanctum Reymbertum, in viridario subtus castrum.' Both instruments are calendared by Chevalier (*Reg. Dauph.* ii, nos. 11419 and 10052 respectively). I am indebted for the Latin wording to M. Avezou, who writes as follows: 'Le verger (*viridarium*) se rencontre habituellement parmi l'énumération des annexes des châteaux dauphinois dans les quelques procès-verbaux descriptifs du XIV^{ème} siècle que nous avons conservés.'

³ Pl. x, a: there is considerable distortion, which was unavoidable as the component photographs had all to be taken from one position.

word 'shell' is used advisedly, for so far as can be seen most of the internal arrangements, floors, stairs, doors, windows, etc., belong to the subdivision of the premises into separate dwellings which was effected at or after the time of the French Revolution. There is also evidence of late medieval alterations, notably an inserted sixteenth-century two-light transomed window on the upper floor of the range, and other modifications of the same period in the inner wall facing towards the former courtyard. When all these secondary features are eliminated, the few thirteenth-century details left to claim our attention are (i) the mutilated remains of four window openings; (ii) the battered plinth, common to range and tower alike; and (iii) the slight projection, containing a latrine shaft, in the intervening angle. The window openings are extremely important, and their survival, partial as it is, is a matter for thankfulness. Considerable interest also attaches to the latrine projection.

CONCLUSION

When so little of a building remains as is now left standing of the castle of St. Georges, to make it a subject of special study¹ may seem a superfluous and unrewarding task. Furthermore, a sense of frustration must inevitably cloud any attempt to assess a building where so much, after safely withstanding the chances of six centuries, has been thrown down, practically without record, within living memory. Nor is such a feeling rendered the less acute by the knowledge that three years' original building accounts survived wellnigh as long, only to be sacrificed in a single night to the uncomprehending fury of the French Revolution. Nevertheless there is a compelling reason for undertaking the inquiry. The suggestion quoted earlier² as to the possible explanation of the surname of Edward I's master castle-builder, Master James of St. George, makes it important to examine any evidence that may remain, however trivial, for the architectural authorship of this particular castle. Here if anywhere there is at least *prima-facie* ground for hoping to be able to clinch an identification that has hitherto only been put forward as a strong probability,³ and where the documents are wanting or obscure the structure itself may supply the missing key.

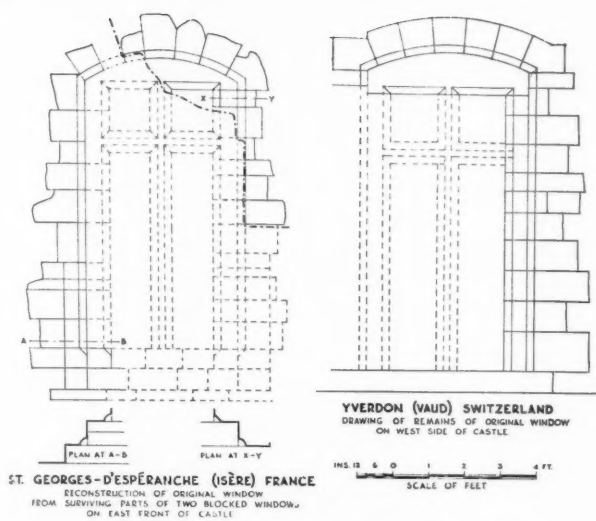
It has been possible, by careful measurement and by removing a little of the blocking masonry from two of the St. Georges windows (pl. xi, *a* and *b*),⁴ to obtain sufficient data to reconstruct on paper, with a fair degree of accuracy, the external elevation and plan of a single original opening (pl. xii, *a*). The result bears a very close resemblance to a series of partially surviving windows at the castle of Yverdon at the foot of Lake Neuchâtel, built by Count Peter of Savoy a bare decade before Count Philip built St. Georges (pl. xii, *b*). The similarity consists in (i) the overall dimensions, which correspond to within 3 in. as regards width and probably little

¹ First-hand investigation of the building itself has had to be limited to three short visits of a few hours each. This has precluded anything in the nature of an accurate ground-plan of the whole site, attention having been concentrated on detailed examination of the blocked window openings.

² p. 39, above.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1950, p. 457.

⁴ Though their names are unknown to me, I should like to record my obligation to the occupants of the tenements into which this part of the castle is now divided for their acquiescence in these somewhat unorthodox operations.



a. Comparative drawings of 13th-century windows at
St. Georges and Yverdon



b. Yverdon: part of W. side of castle, showing remains of two original windows



a



b



c



d

Junction of corner towers and curtains at (*a*) Rhuddlan (S.); (*b*) St. Georges-d'Espéranche (SE.); (*c*) Harlech (SW.); (*d*) Harlech (NW.—reversed view)

less closely as regards height;¹ (ii) the spacing of the lights; (iii) the hollow chamfer of the main reveals (in the window examined at St. Georges the upper lights have a plain chamfer); (iv) a segmental head of wide radius, composed of voussoirs of differing size but always adding up to eight in number (this figure is common to all the surviving examples of this type of window-head, both at Yverdon and at St. Georges);² (v) window-heads characterized by a vertical centre joint in place of a key-stone; (vi) identical spacing of holes for the horizontal members of the iron grilles with which the windows were formerly protected (at St. Georges, where the windows were nearer the ground than at Yverdon, the grilles enclosed them completely (cf. pls. xi, *a* and *b* and xii, *b*); at Yverdon the grilles did not extend above the level of the transom).

The resemblance between St. Georges and Yverdon which emerges from a comparison of their windows is carried farther when we examine the position and form of the projections containing the latrine shafts. At St. Georges one of these projections survives intact. It is approximately 8 ft. 2 in. long and protrudes 2 ft. 1 in. from the curtain wall, being placed in the angle formed between the curtain and the corner tower (pl. x, *a*). It stands to the full original height, and is topped with a sloping stone cap tapering back into the line of the curtain. Although at Yverdon none of the latrine shafts remains, there are sufficient indications against the south-west tower to show that a projection of similar type once existed there, with an external measurement of about 9 ft. by 2 ft.

Now it is known with reasonable certainty that the building of Yverdon, begun in 1261 and continuing until c. 1271, was directed by Master James the mason, acting at first in association with his father, Master John, and with Master Peter Mainier, the keeper of the count's works.³ For the building of St. Georges much less adequate documentation has been preserved; the references to Master James's connexion with works in the Viennois certainly allow one to infer that here too he was the supervisor, but while the inference is one which, as we have seen above,⁴ is probable enough on general grounds, it is still only an inference. By the time the construction of St. Georges was beginning, i.e. by c. 1268, both Master John and Master Peter Mainier have ceased to appear in the records, and the only name that is common to both Yverdon and St. Georges (assuming the *opera domini in Vien-nense* to include the latter) is thus that of Master James. When we turn from the documents to the structures, the virtual identity between the St. Georges and Yverdon window-openings would seem to suggest design by a common hand, in which case it is most likely to this Master James that we should attribute them. The implication of the window design is therefore to connect him more closely with St. Georges than the documents alone are able to do.

¹ Owing to their distance from the ground I have not been able to measure the height of the Yverdon windows, but have calculated it from the number of their horizontal courses, the three lowest of which were within measuring reach from the only ladder available to me. The calculated width of the St. Georges windows varies between 4 ft. 7 in. and 4 ft. 8 in., the measured width of the Yverdon

windows between 4 ft. 9 in. and 4 ft. 11 in.

² The tops of the voussoirs at St. Georges are rough-hewn, so as to engage the rubble-faced masonry in which they are set; at Yverdon the walls are ashlar-faced, and the tops of the voussoirs are accordingly dressed to work in with that facing.

³ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1950, pp. 453-4.

⁴ Above, p. 40.

There is still, however, a gap to be bridged between the Master James who looks like having designed St. Georges round about 1268 and the Master James of St. George who was working in Wales in 1278; and it can now be accepted as fairly certain that, as indeed with the gap between Yverdon and St. Georges, it will not be bridged by the surviving records alone. Is there, then, sufficient architectural evidence—in the form, for example, of similar features employed in the construction both of the Savoy and of the north Wales castles—that will serve to supplement the deficiencies of the written record and speak with a no less decisive voice? It is the claim of this paper that there is. It is not, of course, sufficient that the castles of Yverdon, St. Georges, Flint, Rhuddlan, Aberystwyth, Conway, Harlech, and Beaumaris should all have four-sided wards with corner towers, for that basic ground plan is far too common in the later thirteenth century to be, by itself, significant for our purpose. When, however, we find that of the eight castles named, no fewer than five¹ (i.e. the two in Savoy and three of those in Wales) either have or had latrine² projections not merely placed in exactly similar relative positions, but designed on similar lines and to similar dimensions, we are perhaps on firmer ground (fig. 2). And when, further, from among these five, we compare the surviving projection at St. Georges with the best-preserved of the two that remain at Harlech, the resemblance seems to be sufficiently close to suggest a direct relationship. As previously noted, the St. Georges projection measures 8 ft. 2 in. by 2 ft. 1 in. The corresponding dimensions of the projection adjoining the north-west tower at Harlech are 8 ft. 10 in. and 2 ft. 2 in. These two features, which are shown side by side in pl. XIII,³ are marked by the closest similarity of treatment; the working-in of the stone capping is identical, and both examples are alike in being square-ended, whereas those at Rhuddlan and Conway are chamfered off to shade into the main face of the curtain.

It would be odd indeed if the only definable and particular point of resemblance between the Savoy and north Wales castles were to be found in this lowly appendage; but this of course is not the case. It could, for example, be demonstrated that in their original form the great two-light windows that adorned the keep-gatehouse at Harlech closely paralleled windows at Chillon, on Lake Geneva, which belong to the alterations made to that castle by Peter of Savoy in c. 1260, but this is a subject which must be reserved for separate treatment. We may, however, here briefly notice a detail of window construction that is of more general application. We have spoken earlier of the shallow segmental head, without key-stone, which characterizes the principal windows at both Yverdon and St. Georges. This type of head, besides being seen to perfection in the Harlech gatehouse windows, was employed in embrasures and rere-arches at Flint, Rhuddlan, Denbigh, Conway, and Harlech, while at Caernarvon it is the form of embrasure head used almost

¹ The number may have been greater, the castles at Flint and Aberystwyth being too damaged for certainty as to whether or not some of their arrangements in this respect may have been similar.

² The word 'garderobe' is rejected because, in the sense in which it is used by Victorian and later

antiquaries, it is liable to lead to confusion with the *garderoba* or wardrobe, by no means so insignificant an element in a medieval household.

³ The Harlech photograph (pl. XIII, *d*) is printed in reverse, in order that the two views may be shown from a corresponding angle.

exclusively in the southward parts of the castle (i.e. those built between 1283 and 1290). It is also worth remarking that the full-centred segmental arch, which though something of a rarity at this date is found in the great hall at Conway, in embrasures in the eastern corner towers at Harlech, and in the barbican at Beau-

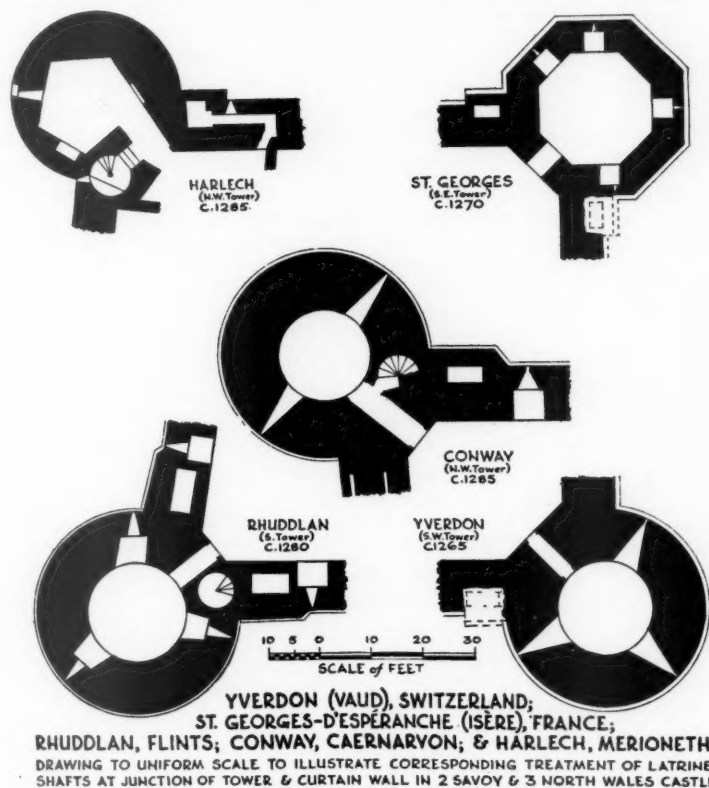


FIG. 2. Plans showing junction of towers, curtains, and latrine shafts at St. Georges, Yverdon, and three north Wales castles.

maris, is matched by a blocked opening in the east wall at St. Georges (pl. x, a), as well as by the heads of the embrasures in the octagonal tower there.

Finally there is another aspect of the matter that seems to deserve attention. The documents quoted earlier in this paper show that St. Georges was not the only castle under construction in the Viennois in 1274, but that works were also in progress at Voiron, La Côte-St. André (*Costa*), and St. Laurent-du-Pont (*Sanctus Laurentius de Deserto*). On the general evidence of the records we should be justified in supposing that all were under the surveillance of Master James the mason, and that in all probability he was their architect. If this supposition is correct, we are led to an

interesting parallel. Though virtually nothing of these other buildings remains standing, we know from various sources that all of them were characterized by round towers,¹ in contrast to the octagonal towers of St. Georges. This seems to suggest a deliberate choice of the octagonal design for the building that was to serve ceremonial uses and rank as the count's summer palace, the round-tower plan being reserved for castles of a more ordinary character. Whether polygonal towers were more costly to build and therefore regarded as more of a luxury, whether they were thought to present a more decorative appearance, or whether they merely allowed more conveniently planned rooms, are questions that cannot be entered into here. The point that is interesting to note, in the present context, is that in north Wales, as in Savoy, not only do we have a unified group of castles in which round towers are the rule and polygonal towers the exception, but, further, that the status of the principal Welsh exception, namely Caernarvon,² has something in common with that of the Savoy exception, namely St. Georges. For Caernarvon was essentially intended as the palace of the English principality of Wales, the formal, official seat of the prince's government,³ and it may be that in some way similar ideas underlie the distinctive treatment accorded to both buildings. In the case of St. Georges, the destruction alike of buildings and of building accounts has robbed us of evidence that might have been conclusive. Nevertheless, in the fragments that remain, it looks as if we can descry a remnant of the early handiwork of the architect whose later achievement in north Wales was to win him lasting greatness.

APPENDIX

*Chabord's Report accompanying the Plan of the Castle
of St. Georges reproduced in pl. xi, c.*

GRENOBLE: Archives de l'Isère, Série L, no. 198, paquet 1.

En conséquence de l'arrêté qui m'a été adressé par Le directoire du district de Vienne, pour me transporter dans des cydevant Châteaux de son arrondissement, à fin d'examiner quels sont ceux, qui en vertu du décret de La convention nationale, doivent être démolis, je me suis rendu successivement aux châteaux cy après dénommés, et y ai reconnu ce qui suit.

¹ For St. Laurent-du-Pont, see Marc Dubois, *Le Château féodal de St. Laurent-du-Pont (Isère)* (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1936); for La Côte-St. André we have the 16th-century chronicler Paradin's description of 'quatre corps de logis, flanqués de quatre tours rondes et tout autour un grand fossé', quoted by Dr. Saunier in his recension of my paper on Master James of St. George in *Évocations* (*Bull. . . d'Études historiques . . . du Bas-Dauphiné*), vii, p. 939. Dr. Saunier tells me that the Voiron towers were also round.

² The only other Welsh example is at Denbigh, a castle built on the grand scale from 1282 onwards for Edward I's close associate, Henry de Lacy, who through his mother was related to the house of Savoy.

³ I have set out this argument more fully in

Antiquity, 1952, pp. 33-34, where reasons are also given for believing that Caernarvon, in plan and conception, is as much James of St. George's work as the north Wales round-tower castles. It is interesting to note among the names of Caernarvon burgesses in 1298—no earlier list survives—that of *Philippus carpentarius* (*Bull. Bd. Celtic Studies*, ix, p. 239), who in 1304-5 was paid for flooring one of the castle towers *ad tascham* (*ibid.* i, p. 269). I am prepared to hazard a guess that he is one and the same individual as the Philip of St. George, carpenter, who was receiving gratuities at Voiron and St. Georges in 1274-5 (above, p. 38), and that he was one of a small nucleus of building masters whom Master James brought with him from Savoy to England in c. 1277.

1°. Le cydevant Chateau d'Espérance est flanqué de quatre tours A, octogones, (voir le plan cyjoint, figuré), dont les murs ont cinq pieds d'épaisseur. Vers le sommet de ces tours, il existe quelques embrasures. Les murs extérieurs de cedit bâtiment, ainsi que le mur BC servant de cloture à la grande cour du côté du nord, ont aussi semblable épaisseur.

Des fossés, comme le plan l'indique, regnent tout au tour de ce vaste bâtiment, et ont de largeur depuis trente à cinquante cinq pieds, sur dix à dixhuit pieds de hauteur.

D'après les articles de la loi du 13 pluviöse, tous ces objets seraient donc dans le cas d'être anéantis. Cependant sans porter le plus grand préjudice à la commune d'Espérance, cette loi ne peut être exécutée en son entier. Elle est ici susceptible de son amendement, je veux parler des fossés, où l'intérêt de la république exige expressément que la partie D, E, F, G, située vers le sud, soit conservée, je dirai bien plus qu'elle doit être une propriété sacrée pour les habitants du pays, par conséquent inaliénable dans le cas d'une vente. Les habitants de cette commune ont pour leur usage six puits seulement, ils sont fort éloignés des rivières, ils n'ont d'autre ressource d'après les informations que j'ai prises, pour abreuver leurs bestiaux, laver leur linge, pour éteindre les incendies, que l'eau de ces fossés, que les bestiaux préfèrent infiniment à celles de puits, qui, comme tout le monde sait, ont trop de crudité. Sans rapporter ici des avantages de salubrité, qui m'écarteraient de mon sujet principal, j'ajouterai seulement pour appuyer l'utilité de conserver la partie D, E, F, G de ces fossés, qu'il arriva il y a quelques années à Espérance une incendie, qui eut ravagé peut-être toutes les habitations, si l'on n'y avait que les puits pour remèdes; car il furent taris en quelques minutes. D'ailleurs, le tems que l'on employe à tirer de l'eau est considérable; expérience faite, il ne faut pas moins d'une minute pour en tirer un seau, qui contient dans ce pays environ vingt livres d'eau pesant. Peut-être que l'on objectera qu'on pourrait pratiquer en d'autres endroits de semblables fossés, où seraient reçues les eaux pluviales, à cela je répondrai que peu des situations sont propres, qu'il faut attendre un certain tems avant que les terres soient saturées d'eau, et qu'il faut encore un revêtement de maçonnerie, objet qui ne laisserait pas que d'entraîner une certaine dépense.

Malgré l'épaisseur des murs du dit chateau, l'on doit bannir toute crainte à ce que des rebelles ne s'en emparent, s'il resterait encore dans la situation actuelle, que je présume n'y avoir rien à appréhender. Tous les jours il tombe en ruines des plus sensibles; déjà il y pleut en beaucoup d'endroits, des planchers sont affaîssés. Les murs, caves, chambres, planchers, tout a été visité et fouillé pour en extraire des matières propres à la fabrication du salpêtre. Et plus l'on différera de vendre ces bâtiments, plus aussi ils diminueront de leur valeur. Mais nonobstant ces raisons, en comblant les fossés DKHG, vers le nord, en démolissant les tours A, et le mur épais BC servant de cloture, ceux D, E, F, G ne pourront être guères nuisibles, puisque ce cidevant chateau se trouvera ouvert en plusieurs parties, et que l'accès en sera aisé. J'observerai que l'on fera une chose doublement utile en prenant une partie des remblais au chemin LM, qui conduit à Bourgoïn, parcequ'il deviendrait à peu près de niveau.

Fait à Vienne La Patriote par moi Ingénieur soussigné des ponts et chaussées au Département de l'Isère, le 20 fructidor de l'an deuxième de la république française une et indivisible [11 September, 1794].

CHABORD.

THE MAIL-MAKER'S TECHNIQUE

By E. MARTIN BURGESS

MAIL has been used since very early times and it is therefore surprising that so little is known about the methods and tools used for its construction. As it appeared unlikely that original tools or further information would come to light, recent research has been carried out on new lines. It was hoped that the methods found to be the most practical would produce mail similar in appearance to the medieval riveted mail. These methods would have to be accessible to armourers of the past and as far as possible be methods still in use in the present day, for basic techniques seldom die out. Many of these techniques are so fundamental that it is doubtful if they have changed much in the last 2,000 years. Because so much mail was produced the method would have to be a fast one allowing for division of labour within the workshop. The most skilled task, which is the final linking, would have to be done by the master craftsman, who could be kept supplied with the necessary rings and rivets. The early stages in the production of mail—the simple, laborious tasks—would be left to apprentices and assistants. Such a system is often found in a small workshop.

For the production of mail the first necessity is wire. There has been much controversy in the past as to whether or not the ancient mail-maker had at his command the art of wire-drawing. This is the process by which wire is drawn through successively smaller and smaller holes. There are several ways of doing it, but the effect is always the same—a rod of metal becomes progressively longer and thinner. The wire may be drawn through the same hole many times, the hole being closed up between one drawing through and the next. The tool used for this operation (fig. 1), which is a form of swage, looks somewhat like a screw-press and consists of two blocks of steel which can be forced together by a large screw and lever. This screw is used to bring the steel blocks about two- or three-thousandths of an inch closer together between one drawing through and the next. In one or both of the steel blocks, often only in the lower one which is fixed, is cut a tapering hollow through which the wire is drawn. The blocks are narrow and the taper can be quite slight. This type of tool has been much used because the steel blocks can be replaced and also because the hollow can be filed to any shape required even if the wire has a very complex cross-section. It is useful for making complicated mouldings in metal.

The second type is the true draw-plate and, though simple to use, it is hard to make and, once made, cannot be altered. It consists of a plate of very hard steel with a large number of tapering holes in it. Each hole is slightly smaller than the last and the wire is drawn through one hole after another. This system is fast, but has obvious disadvantages. Both of these methods are used today where wire is made by hand.

The wire can be drawn through by hand or with a windlass. When drawn by hand the end of the wire is first tapered with a hammer or file and passed through

a hole slightly smaller than its diameter. It will be a bar rather than wire when the process is started. The tapered end is gripped in a pair of tongs with one handle bent so that the hand shall have something to pull against. To grip the wire firmly the inner surfaces of the tongs are cross-hatched with the ridges sloping backwards. The effect is somewhat similar to that produced when two files are pressed together. The tongs can be hooked to a belt passed round the waist, and the drawer can then exert a greater pull on the wire when walking backwards. This method is useful for producing long wires.

The drawing can, on the other hand, be done with a windlass. The tongs have both handles curved at the end and an iron isosceles triangle with one short side is hooked over both of them with the apex of the triangle pointing towards the wire. The short side of the triangle has a bend in it in which rests the first link of a long chain which passes round the windlass. When the chain is tight and the windlass turning the iron triangle causes the tongs to grip the wire tightly. An increase of pull will correspondingly increase the grip of the tongs on the wire. This method is useful for short thick wires, but it has obvious disadvantages for long wires.

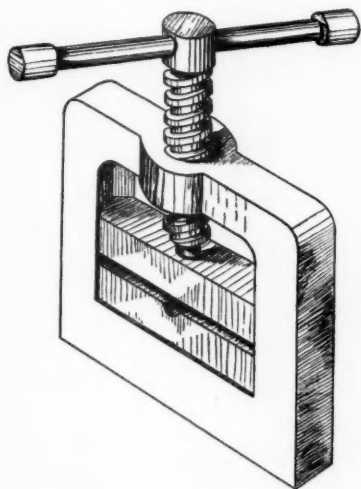


FIG. 1.

Drawn wire has grooves all along its length. This is the result of an irregular draw-plate; but even machine-drawn wire, which has been drawn through a smooth steel draw-plate, tends to have these marks. On mail the marks are easy to see, through a lens if not with the naked eye. It is uncertain when wire-drawing was first used, but bronze wire showing draw-plate marks and stone draw-plates of about 2000 B.C. have been found. It is likely that the presence of mail in any civilization proves that the knowledge of wire-drawing was in existence at that time. If wire were not fairly easy to make it would not have played a part in the construction of armour when so many other substances were available. Even before the use of steel, wire might have been drawn through bronze. The art of hardening bronze has been lost, but it is evident that it was basically a process of work-hardening. Most metals become harder by being hammered or bent. It is likely that wire would be drawn through a tool of the screw-press type, shown in fig. 1, because much wire in mail shows a cross-section with one flat side and the other rounded. It is easy to see how this would naturally follow from the use of such a tool. When this wire was bent into a circle the flat side would tend to turn inwards, and this has in fact partially happened in many examples of mail made from wire of this particular cross-section.

The wire has now to be coiled up to form rings (pl. xv, 1). This would be done by twisting it round an iron rod of suitable thickness, remembering that the ring

will become smaller when the ends to be riveted are overlapped and larger again when they are flattened for punching. In practice there would probably be a large selection of cores of various sizes in a mail-maker's workshop, and they might be fitted with wooden handles and either a slot or a hole for starting the coil of wire (pl. xiv, *b*). The length of these iron cores would control the necessary length of each piece of wire. The drawn wire would not have to be in very long lengths.

Once the wire has been coiled it must be cut up to form rings. The cutting is often done with a saw when butted rings are required, but it is doubtful if the medieval mail-maker used a saw as all the rings, except the whole rings punched from a sheet, were riveted.

It is more likely that the cutting would be done by some form of wire-cutters (pl. xv, 2). As the rings are riveted after the cut ends have been flattened, all trace of the method used to cut them has disappeared.

The rings now have to be overlapped before they are flattened for riveting. In any one garment they are always overlapped in the same direction. This direction of overlap, almost always the same, can be easily remembered by substituting the hands for the flattened ends of the ring. If the ring is looked at edgewise with the rivet joint uppermost, the right hand will be nearest to the body when placed flat against the left. The reason for this similarity in all mail of all ages and sizes is easy to explain when the full technique is known. In order that the overlapping may be carried out in the correct manner the core must be wound in a clockwise direction,

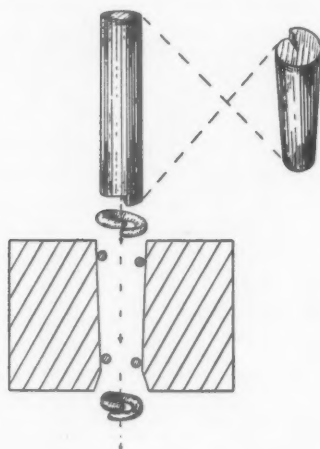


FIG. 2.

when regarded from the handle end towards which the wire is wound. This gives a formation like a right-handed thread on the coil formed. It is not of the least importance from which end of the coil the cutting is started. This is the natural way for a right-handed man to wind the wire when the core handle is held in the right hand. It will be seen later how important is the direction of wind, and thus the direction of overlap, in the processes which follow.

For overlapping, the rings are now driven through a tapering hole in a steel block with a punch which has exactly the diameter of the smallest part of the hole (fig. 2). The head of this punch is shaped so that both ends of the ring, one higher and the other lower, are forced down the hole with equal pressure. At the bottom of the block the hole becomes larger again so that the ring drops out after it has been overlapped the correct amount (pl. xv, 3). An alternative method is to fix the punch in a vice or a block of wood and, after placing the ring on it, to hammer the steel block, with its tapering hole, over the punch. As the ring emerges at the top of the block the ends that are later to be flattened are struck by the hammer, and this tends to seat the wires together at the overlap. It will be seen later why this is important. With a constant wire-thickness and size of core and a regular cutting

the overlap will always be the same and the ring will remain perfectly circular. If the rings are measured after the overlapping has been done, they will be found to be of very great accuracy. It would be to the advantage of future research if the measurement of mail rings was standardized. It has been found best to use a micrometer accurate to a thousandth of an inch for this purpose. The measurements of ring diameters are taken across the ring parallel to the overlap. After overlapping the rings only vary in external diameter by two- or three-thousandths of an inch.

In all the processes so far described the rings can be worked cold, but as soon as the metal becomes hard by working it must be annealed. To accomplish this it must be heated red hot and left to cool. It must not be quenched in water. This



FIG. 3. (about $\frac{1}{4}$)

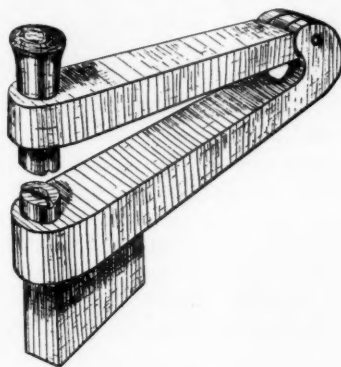


FIG. 4.

heating will be found necessary every now and then while drawing the wire and before overlapping. A mail-maker would thread the rings on a length of wire and heat them in the forge. It is best to anneal the rings again after the overlapping so that they are quite soft before flattening.

Now comes the swaging out or flattening of the rivet joint. This is the most important process as far as the finished appearance of the ring is concerned. It is this process which produces the formation round the head of the rivet so characteristic of riveted mail (fig. 3). It is convenient to call this typical formation the 'water-shed' formation for want of a ready-made term.

The swaging is done between two steel dies or moulds which are held in the correct position one with another by two iron arms hinged together (fig. 4). Underneath the lower arm and above the upper arm are two projections which are in line with each other and with the dies. The lower projection serves simply to hold the tool in position. It can be held in a vice or fixed in a big block of wood in the same way that anvils are often set up. In a mail-maker's workshop the latter method would probably be used as vices would be far too useful to be constantly employed for holding a tool of this sort. The upper projection forms an anvil which is struck with a two-pound hammer bringing great pressure on any ring which is between the dies and forcing the joint to take their shape. One blow of the hammer should

be sufficient, but it is a good plan to give two strokes. The first is a light stroke to seat the two round wires together at the overlap and the second a heavy one to squash the ends of the wire firmly together and to spread them into the dies.

The dies must be of the correct size and shape for the size of wire and rings or the overlapped ends will jump apart. The two recesses must be exactly one over another or the ends will jump sideways, and they must be very slightly deeper in the centre or there will be nothing to prevent the overlap being destroyed by the ring opening outwards. On the other hand, if the recesses are too deep the ring will be bent and the wire outside the overlap cut and flattened. By experimenting with the shape and size of the dies it was found that the shape which gave the best result, and the shape which was the most simple to make, was one which produced a ring precisely the same as rings found in original mail (pl. xv, 4). The method for making the dies is explained later; it will then be clear that the method is one which would come easily to a craftsman working with a forge and fundamental tools. No attempt has been made to produce mail which looks like the original, but the shape of die found to be the best did give a 'water-shed' formation to the ring.

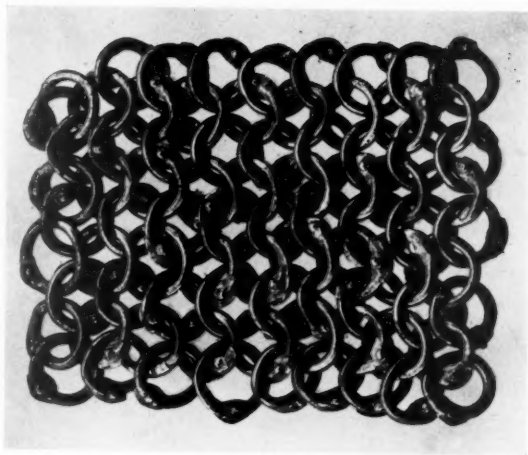
The rings can be worked cold for this process provided they are softened before and after it, but they work better when hot. The swage never gets hot because it has such a big mass compared with that of the ring.

This method of holding the two dies or forms in position one with another and hammering them together is extensively used today by metal-working craftsmen, especially those who do wrought-iron work. The swage block of this type has been used for one purpose or another all down the ages. It would be strange indeed if the mail-maker was not acquainted with it.

For different sizes of rings and different density of texture different dies have to be used. It is best to make them of a high carbon steel, which can be hardened.

Cast and rolled steel were not known to the medieval armourer and metal-worker, for the process by which large quantities of steel are manufactured has only been invented in fairly recent times. When modern steel comes from the foundry it is steel right through and hard to work even when hot. Very little work can be done to it when it is cold. The medieval armourer used a high quality soft iron to work with, which is almost unobtainable today, and when he had fashioned it to the shape he required he case-hardened it. Case-hardening was done by surrounding the piece of iron with crushed charcoal packed tightly into an iron box. The box was then placed in the forge and kept at red heat for some time. The carbon turns the outside of the iron into steel, and this layer of steel gets deeper as the process continues. Eventually the iron is steel right through, but this is usually a disadvantage. Iron tools with steel faces are better than tools which are steel right through because these are liable to crack and split. Much plate armour is case-hardened, for the outside is diamond hard while the inside is as soft as the original iron. This case-hardened plate is much stronger and will resist much harder blows than if it were steel right through.

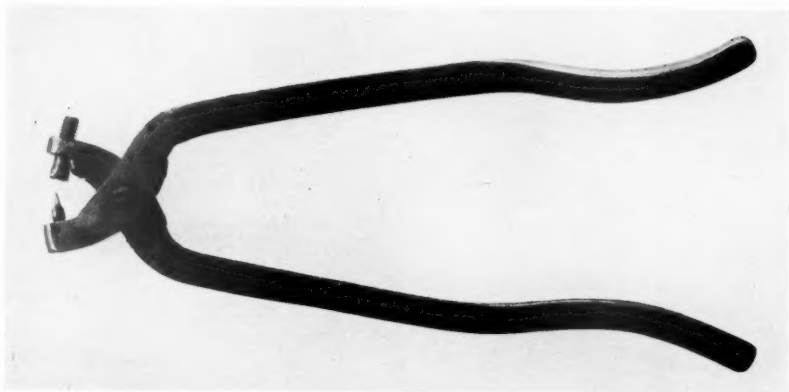
Case-hardening has been known for thousands of years. Steel-faced tools and arrow-heads have been found which were made about 600 B.C. The arrow-heads were steel right through near the tips where they were thin.



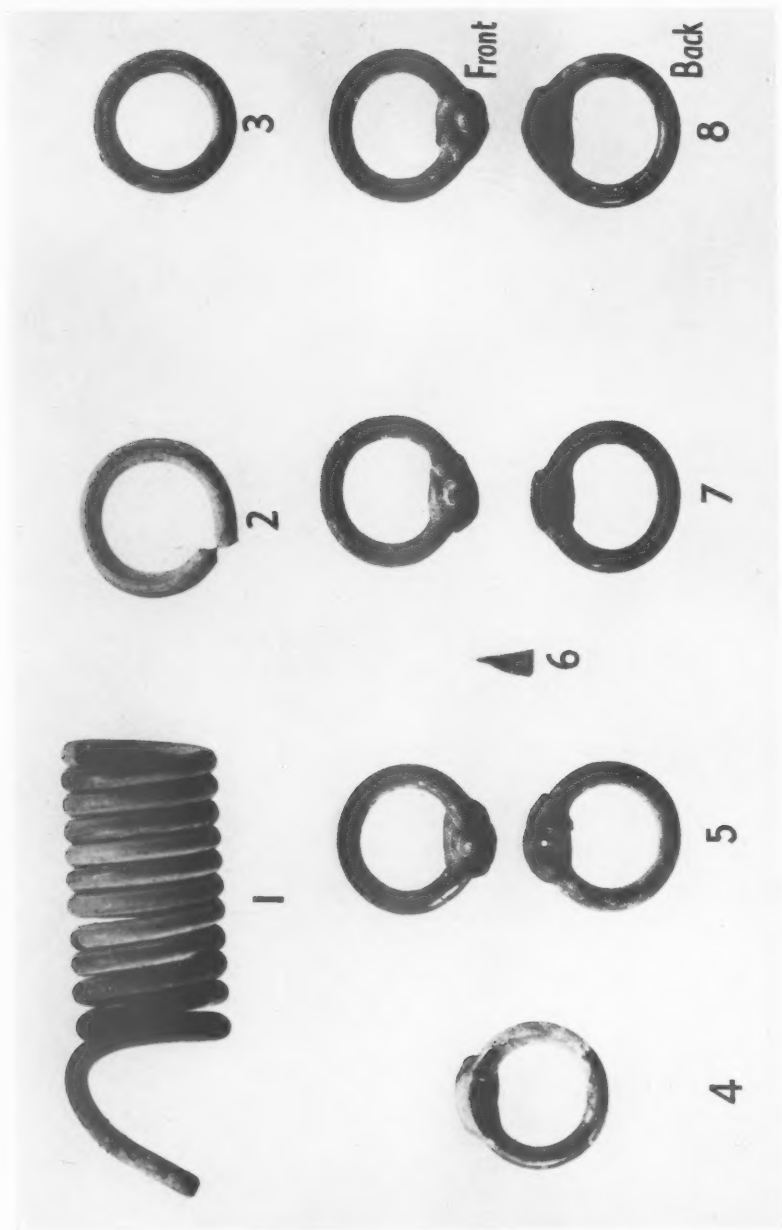
a. Modern reproduction of mail made by the processes described ($\frac{1}{1}$)



b. Core for wire winding ($\frac{2}{3}$)



c. The punching tongs ($\frac{3}{3}$)



Processes from coiled wire to finished rings ($\frac{3}{4}$)

It is best to make the steel dies separate from the rest of the tool. In this way many pairs of dies may be used with the same tool. It is also possible to ensure that they are exactly one above another. The cavities in the dies can be punched into them while the steel is soft by replacing one of the dies by a hard steel punch. This punch is best filed to shape, and it is this filing which gives the form later appearing as a 'water-shed' on the ring. When one die has been made, die and punch are removed and the punch is placed where the die was. The second die is now placed where the punch was and the two hammered together. The dies are now hardened by heating red hot and quenching in water or oil and are then tempered to a dark straw colour. When steel is hardened in this way great stresses are set up inside it so that it breaks when attempts are made to bend or hammer it. Oil does not cool the metal so violently as cold water. These stresses are then reduced by tempering. The steel is polished and heated again as far from the working face as possible, and the colour of the oxide formed on the surface is watched. It changes from a light straw colour to blue, and when the working face reaches the correct colour it is instantly quenched.

After the rings have been swaged out their diameter will vary more from ring to ring than it did after the overlapping. This increased inaccuracy is still within the limits of the usual accuracy for riveted mail. On good mail the average variation between the ring diameters is about twelve-thousandths of an inch. This fact is another indication that the method here described is a correct one.

The final process in the manufacture of rings is the punching of holes to take the rivets. The rivets are almost always of iron even if the rings are brass, and they are almost always wedge-shaped. The rivet backs are rectangular, while the front must originally have come to a point before the rivet was closed. It is necessary then that the holes should be the same shape. Attempts were made to replace the dies in the swage with punches, but the shock of hammering proved too much for the small steel punch. It is necessary to squeeze the punch through the ring and into a shaped steel block with a hole in the centre. This block is, in fact, a repetition of the swage-die with a hole in the centre of the 'water-shed'. The block and the punch are mounted in a tool somewhat like a pair of tongs (pl. xiv, c). The handles are squeezed and the punch is forced slowly through the ring, the metal from the hole being extruded on the other side. The pressure on the ring and the shape of the punch tend to destroy the 'water-shed' formation on the back of the ring, while on the front the effect is increased (pl. xv, 5). If the punch is long and thin and is pushed far enough, it finally breaks through the ring on the other side and a rectangular-backed wedge-shaped hole is the result. Sometimes rings can be found in mail where the metal has been extruded by the punch but not pierced. These rings look exactly the same as the ones produced in the experiment.

On no account must the punch, at its widest part, be more than one-third the width of the swaged-out joint before punching. If it is wider than this the tendency will be to split the ring.

The rivets are best made out of wire. The wire is hammered out at one end into a fan shape, and then cut to a point with wire-cutters. This produces a four-sided end to the piece of wire tapering on all sides. This tapering end is now cut from the

rest of the wire to form a rivet (pl. xv, 6). The rivets could also be made by cutting up strips of metal and in many other ways. The shape of the finished rivet is all that is important.

The rings are then opened and are ready for linking. It is not until this stage that the master-craftsman need handle the rings. He can concentrate on the actual linking, riveting, and building up of the garment he is constructing. The rings are linked together into the required formation and are then closed ring by ring. Then the rivets are inserted, a line at a time, and forced into the holes and out on the other side by a tool similar to that used for punching (pl. xv, 7). In the place of the punch, however, there is a block of metal with a depression similar to that in the swaging-die. The rivet, replacing the punch, passes through the hole in the ring and into the hole in the block of metal used for punching. Then, a line at a time, the rivets are closed by a similar tool with a rivet set in place of the perforated block (pl. xv, 8).

It is easy to see from the process of linking and riveting why all the rivet heads appear on the same side (pl. xiv, *a*). It would be troublesome to keep turning the tool round to suit each ring. The rivet heads should always be on the outside of the garment because the rivet backs cause less wear to the garment underneath, and also because the craftsman would want to see the rivet head after he had closed it. The rivets are simple to make, and drag the sides of the ring together firmly when they are closed.

Some mail rings bear armourer's marks on the rivet heads or backs. It would not be hard to punch these marks on to the steel dies used for the final processes.

All the stages in the process are fairly rapid and it can be seen that one man could concentrate on one stage and use the same tool or tools over and over again. This would make for fast working. It is easy to link and rivet one ring a minute, but after long practice no doubt the building up of a garment would be a very fast process. Only the last stage is highly skilled; all the other stages are very simple to perform. The skill in linking consists in getting the correct combination of rings in order to shape the garment so that it is comfortable to wear. The actual closing and riveting is a very simple process.

In some mail the rings are very hard. The finished garment could be rolled up in charcoal and case-hardened to produce this effect. Finished mail would be very easy to case-harden as the structure is so open.

All the tools and methods used have their modern counterparts. All the techniques are in use today and are natural and obvious to the hand metal-worker as well as being accessible to craftsmen of the past. They are all very old, much used, processes. This is perhaps why no recognizable tools have come down to us. They are so simple and fundamental that either they cannot be recognized until the mail-maker's technique is known or they were so useful that as soon as mail-making died out they were converted to other uses. Tools were more valuable then, but the practice of altering tools to suit the job is still carried out on a large scale by the metal craftsman, especially when the tools are hand-made.

It may now be possible to recognize mail-maker's tools by the knowledge of how mail was made, and thus a greater understanding can be acquired, not only

about the technique itself, but also about the origin and relationship of individual pieces. The swage makes the same mark over and over again. Thus, if rings made by the same swage were used in two different garments, it should be possible, by close inspection, to determine that both garments were produced in the same workshop or by the same tool.

It is to be hoped that further research will make it possible to fix dates and localities for the mail garments so numerous in museums and collections.

AN EXCAVATION BELOW BISHOP TUNSTAL'S CHAPEL, DURHAM CASTLE

By GRACE SIMPSON and VICTOR HATLEY

BISHOP CUTHBERT TUNSTAL of Durham (1530-59), civil servant, scholar, and friend of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, may also claim distinction for his building activity at Durham Castle. During his episcopacy he constructed the gallery fronting the twelfth-century work of Bishop Puiset, the lower stages of the clock-tower, and the chapel since generally known by his name. This last work superseded the original Norman chapel which must, by the second quarter of the sixteenth century, have become increasingly unsuitable for the everyday use of the bishop's household. The Tunstal chapel (plan, fig. 1) was enlarged by Bishop Lord Crewe (1674-1721), who added two more bays to the east, the termination of Bishop Tunstal's work being at a point corresponding to the west jamb of the second window from the east. The chapel is situated on an upper story, the room below now being the University College Junior Common Room. The builders made use of the foundations of a shorter earlier building,¹ the east wall of which (plan, fig. 1, section BB) was retained as a limit to the lower room and as a support for the chapel floor. Nevertheless, beyond this wall the east bay of the chapel overhung the sloping side of the motte, leaving a triangular space beneath the floor (section AA, fig. 2). They therefore packed this space with large stones and rubbish, which included broken pottery, the whole being sealed by a layer of rubble and mortar on which the chapel floor could be laid. Just below the rubble a drain formed by a U-shaped piece of lead with a stone cover ran to a weep-hole in the south wall.

When the preliminary work entailed in the restoration of the Norman chapel began in June 1951, it was necessary to remove part of the edge of the motte and the filling above in order to construct an alternative entrance to the junior common room and the keep. The workmen soon reported the finding of pottery, and an opportunity was presented of recording the architectural features of the site together with the structure of the western edge of the motte.²

The earlier wall below the chapel (plan, fig. 1, section BB) was now exposed, showing two offsets, and above them two plain rectangular windows with chamfered dressings, late medieval insertions. These windows had been blocked by the mortar and rubble used as a sealing over the filling. Just below these windows a stone gutter ran parallel to the wall at a distance of 2 ft. Above and beyond it a kerb of roughly squared stones prevented the surface of the motte from being washed down into it.

¹ *V.C.H. Durham*, iii, 84.

² To Mr. Eric Birley, who started us upon this task, and to Mr. John Charlton for his help with the pottery, we are especially indebted. We also wish to thank Professor K. C. Dunham for his report on the fused sandstone, Dr. C. H. Hunter Blair who

examined the coat of arms, and Dr. D. B. Harden for his comments on the piece of imported glass. Mr. N. Richardson drew the plan, and Mr. W. Dodds assisted with some of the drawings. Mr. W. Smailes, the contractor's foreman, lightened the work by his interest and willing help.

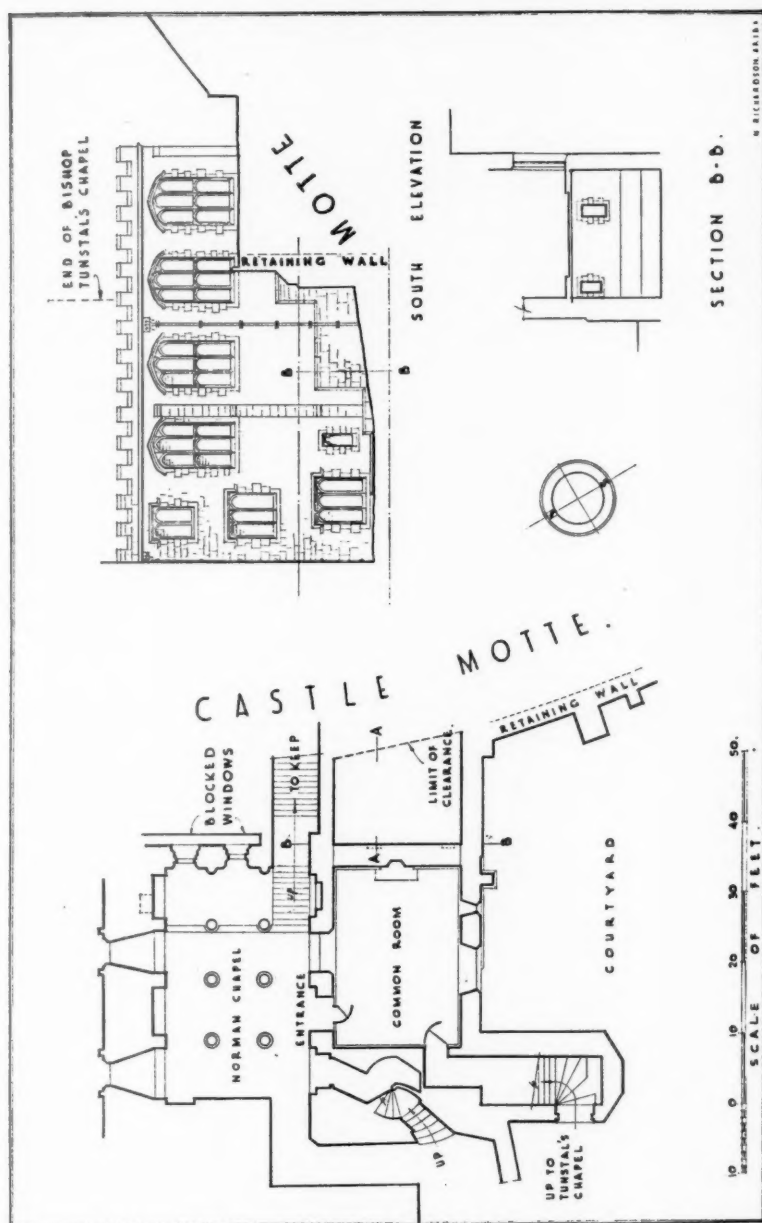


FIG. 1. Plan and Elevation of Bishop Tunstal's Chapel.

The motte had been built up by layers of tipped material (section AA, fig. 2). Yellow sand containing a pocket of charcoal was the lowest deposit to be seen, and above it were layers of brown sand and brown earth respectively. Then a layer of black earth containing vivianite, pieces of wood, and many animal bones. Above

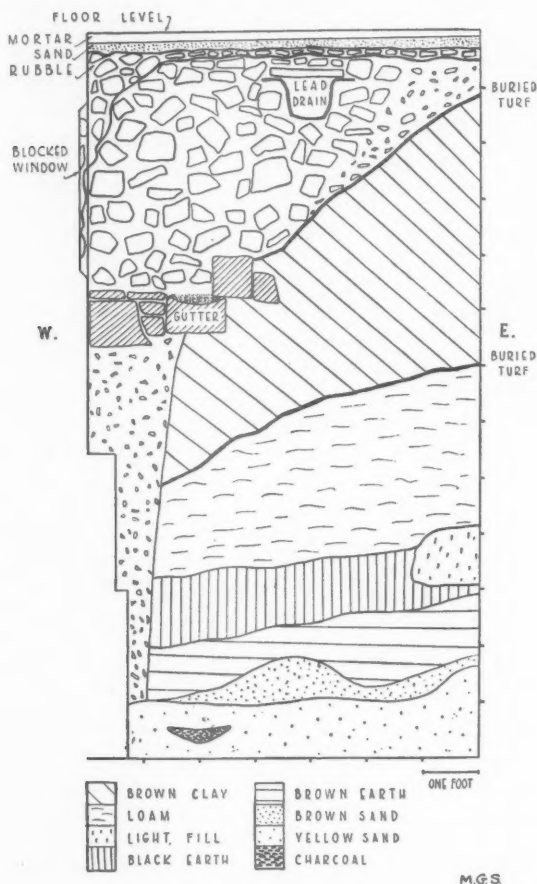


FIG. 2. Section AA.

came a thick layer of loam containing roots, its upper limit marked by a distinct black line representing the decayed vegetation of an old ground surface. These deposits were capped by a thick layer of clean brown clay, in which the gutter was partly bedded. On the clay was a second buried ground surface. The *V.C.H. Durham*, iii, 89, states:

The original mound may have been partly natural but enlarged with earth taken from the

south moat. In any case it was considerably extended or widened later by Bishop Hatfield who is said to have enlarged the Keep, for which purpose the mound must have been lowered. This widening is evidenced by the blocking of the east windows of the Norman chapel.

The account appears to agree with the stratification described above, the old turf line below the brown clay corresponding to the original surface of the motte, and the clay capping to the work of Bishop Hatfield (1345-81).

The bones found in the black earth layer or among the stones and rubbish included ox, sheep or goat, pig, red deer, and haddock, *Gadus aeglefinus* L. The shells included edible oyster and cockle, with probable remains of edible snail and mussel. The majority of bird bones belonged to the domestic fowl, *Gallus bankiva* var. *domesticus*. The others were remains of a larger bird, probably a swan.¹

THE POTTERY

About 400 sherds were found in the stone and rubbish filling, not a single piece being found in the motte. Most bear traces of a greenish-brown glaze, except no. 12 which is moss green. Few pieces could be joined, which suggests that the pottery represents rubbish brought in and tipped into the filling. The complete absence of the coarse wares which up to now have been thought characteristic of late medieval pottery from north-eastern England² suggests that the pottery from below the Tunstal chapel may help to define a closer dating for the medieval pottery of the district, at least until a stratified sequence is found.

Fig. 3

Pieces 1-5 are full of fine grit and very rough to the touch. Nos. 3 and 4 have slight splashes of glaze. It is the similarity of fabric, despite the variety of rim sections, that characterizes this class. Probably thirteenth century.

6. A thick-walled bottle, cf. Cambokeels, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xxvii, fig. 8, 13, which is there described as a common type in the north of England. c. 1350 or later.

7. A skillet handle, probably late fifteenth century. Glazed.

Nos. 8-12 are the few sherds which show decoration. All glazed.

8. Applied pie-crust cordon, as a vertical strip.

9. Applied pellets from three different vessels. They were a fairly common decoration in the late fourteenth century in Yorkshire.

10 and 11. Wavy-line patterns were used from the thirteenth century onwards. These examples are from flagon necks.

12. A ridged pattern from a flagon neck.

13. A heavily moulded rim from a large squat vessel, glazed inside.

14. A rim from a vessel somewhat similar to no. 13. Its top is scarred because it had stuck to something before being fired.

Amongst the pottery is a flat piece of clay that also bears similar scars. Most probably no. 14 had stood upside down upon the plate while it was being glazed and had stuck to it: the scars left on both are of the same circumference, though they do not quite fit into each other. The glaze

¹ Miss M. I. Platt, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, examined the bird bones, and Dr. J. Phillipson and Mr. K. R. Ashby, University of Durham, the shells and animal bones respectively.

To each we record our thanks.

² Dunstanburgh Castle, 1931; *Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xiii, 286 (Class 2).

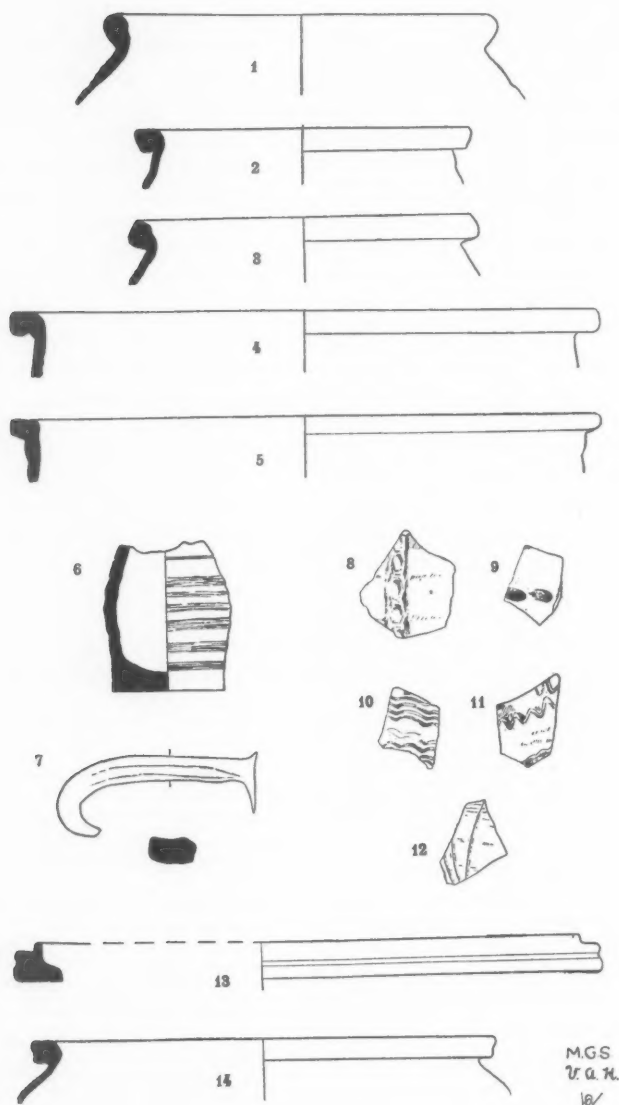


FIG. 3 (1/4).

had spread over the plate except where the mouth of the vessel covered it. Then they were pulled apart and, with the damaged surfaces left untrimmed, both were fired.

A broken handle, with glaze over the break, is the third kiln-waster in the whole group. Wasters such as these could not have reached the filling from very far away from the place where they were made.

Even more suggestive of local pottery-working than these is a small piece of sandstone found with the pottery. It has been fused in a kiln so that its whole surface is covered by a transparent glaze.¹

Fig. 4

No complete flagon was obtained. The pieces illustrated are representative of this class, which may, in the absence of the ridge-spouts so common between c. 1250 and 1350, be generally assigned to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The fabrics contained a varying amount of fine grit and were hard, usually with a patchy glaze. Rounded handles were the most common, and then the centrally grooved and the flat handles.

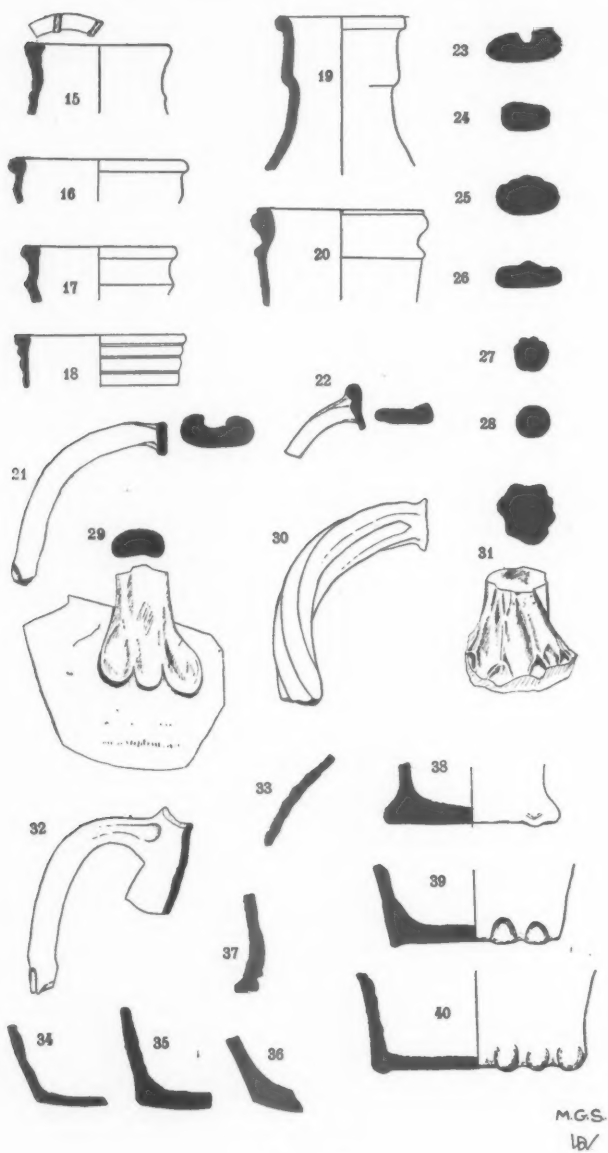
15. A flat rim, ornamented by small slanting depressions.
16. A rounded rim with thick but patchy glaze.
17. A characteristic example of the ridged neck that is so common on flagons of this period.
18. The grooved exterior may be compared to Cambokeels, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th Series, xxvii, fig. 8, 5.
19. A squared rim with a slightly ridged neck.
20. A heavily moulded rim with a pronounced ridge below the neck.
- 21, 22, 32. Handles attached to the necks of vessels.
- 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Sections through handles.
29. A handle-base showing three thumb-marks.
30. One of a pair of twisted handles. These heavy handles are not very common, though they have a wide distribution, and in the south of England were made in the fourteenth century.
31. The base of a twisted handle.
33. The largest piece of wall found shows the general thinness of the rilled flagon sides.
- 34 and 35. Two sagging-bases chosen from a dozen.
36. A thick sagging-base of poor workmanship.
37. The lowest part of the side of a large vessel with a diameter of 10 in. The base has broken away.
38. A pedestal-base, one of three, pressed down at intervals.
- 39 and 40. Flagon bases which had been 'thumbed down'.

Fig. 5

- 41, 42, 43. Cooking-pot rims in a fabric that is full of fine grit, though not so rough to the touch as nos. 1-5, and their rims are smaller and lighter.
44. A smooth orange-coloured fabric with a little very fine grit.
45. Conjectural restoration from thirteen fragments. Smooth, like no. 44, and orange-buff in colour; the deeply rilled sides have been smoothed out near the base with a knife.

¹ Professor K. C. Dunham, University of Durham, stated: 'The specimen is a piece of sandstone which has been fired to produce a glaze of impure silica glass on its surface. A powder from one corner shows grains of quartz and fragments of isotropic

glass having a refractive index a little above 1.500. This stone could either have formed part of the wall of a kiln which broke off and was superficially fused on all sides, or it may have been introduced accidentally into a kiln.'

FIG. 4 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

46. A smaller vessel in the same smooth fabric, with a rolled-over rim.
 47. A flat rim, greyish-brown in colour, the leathery-looking fabric being full of hard grit, probably quartz, somewhat resembling Romano-British wares—not so much the calcite-

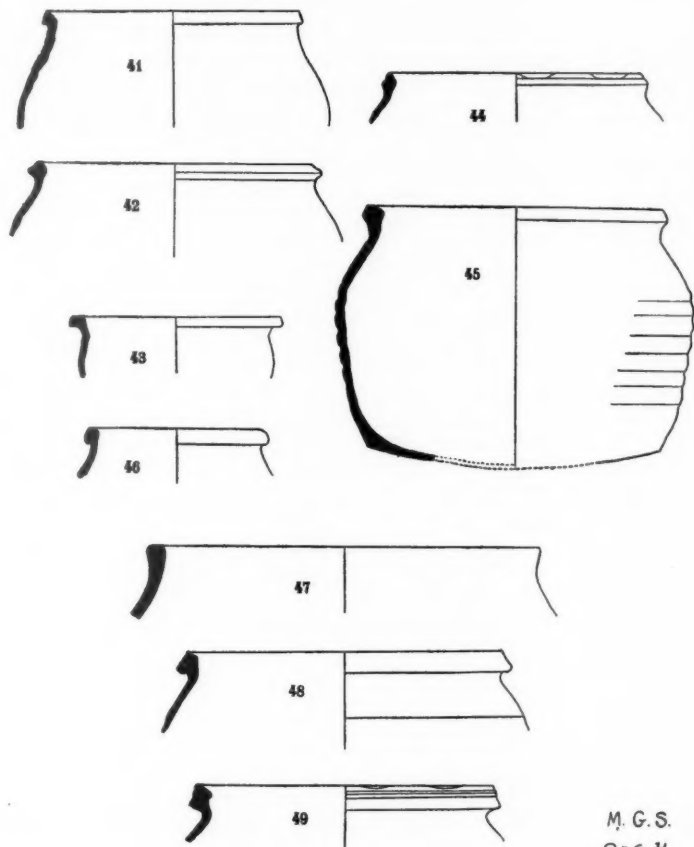


FIG. 5 (1).

gritted ware as the so-called Derbyshire ware,¹ though it is not suggested that it is in fact out of its context in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

48. A cooking-pot rim in smooth buff ware. Sixteenth century.
 49. A rim similar to no. 48 in form and fabric, found in the castle courtyard near the new entrance.

¹ 'Romano-British Derbyshire Ware', by J. P. Gillam, *Antiq. Journ.*, xix, 429.

APPENDIX I

Report upon a Piece of Coloured Glass

By D. B. HARDEN, V-P.S.A.

Fragment of a base-ring of a flask or jug (or, less likely, a bowl), D. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., found with the pottery (see fig. 6). The sides of the base-ring taper upwards and it has been built up on the 'coil' system with drawn trails. The body of the vessel, of which only the broken edge remains, is of sapphire-blue glass, the next two 'coils' are wine-red, and the lowest 'coil' is opaque white.

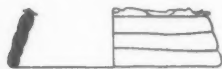


FIG. 6. Base-ring in coloured glass ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Similar bases made by trailing on several 'coils' occurred at Karanis in Egypt (Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis*, p. 217 f., nos. 658 (pl. xix) and 666, in both cases from houses belonging to the latest period on the site, i.e. 4th–5th cent. A.D.). I do not believe that this fragment can be of Roman date despite these Karanis parallels, for such a method of manufacture might be used exceptionally at any period at the whim of a particular workman. Colour and texture of the metal are much safer guides, and both of these lead me to think that this piece is medieval. Its particular shade of wine-red glass is very typical of the early medieval period, especially in the East, and the opaque white and dark blue are also common then, though they are not quite so rare in Roman times as this particular shade of wine-red. Another argument in favour of a medieval date is the combination of three colours in this fashion: Roman workers, when they mixed their colours, normally did it in the form of decoration, and not on the functional part of the vase.

If this piece is early medieval (i.e. 8th–13th century) and of Eastern manufacture it would not stand entirely alone amongst English finds. I have already published (*Antiq. Journ.* xxx, 70 ff.) a beaker from Colchester which I believe to be an Eastern import belonging to the end of this early medieval period, and I have records of other pieces falling into the same category, though probably dating from the eighth to the tenth century rather than later, from St. Andrew's Cathedral (Fife), Cheesecake Barrow (Yorks.), and Chichester (Sussex). For indubitably Eastern glasses imported into medieval England we may compare the fragments of Arabic enamelled glass found in London and Cornwall (*Antiq. Journ.*, loc. cit.).

APPENDIX II

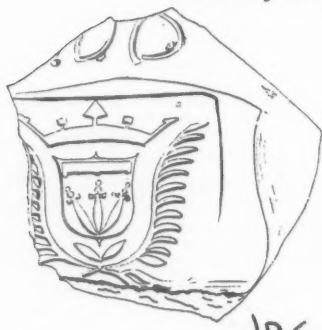
A Coat of Arms found in the Castle Courtyard (fig. 7)

FIG. 7. A coat of arms found in the Castle Courtyard ($\frac{1}{2}$).

A piece of coarse reddish-brown pottery, unglazed, and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, with a coat of arms stamped upon it, and with traces of a blue wash remaining in the crevices of the design. It is not possible to say from what sort of vessel it came, nor to reconstruct the letters or numbers scratched in the wet clay above the arms.

Dr. C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A., has examined the sherd and considers that the arms would be those borne by the eldest son of the Marquis of Winchester. He gives them as follows: *Sable, three swords pileways points downwards argent, pommels and hilts gold, differenced by a label of three points. Ensigned by the coronet of a marquis: strawberry leaves and silver balls on points.*

A SOUTERRAIN IDENTIFIED IN ANGUS

By F. T. WAINWRIGHT, F.S.A.

DURING 1949 three souterrains were revealed and recognized in Angus. The excavation of two of them, Ardestie and Carlungie I, extended over three years (1949-51) and full reports are in preparation. Both Ardestie and Carlungie I

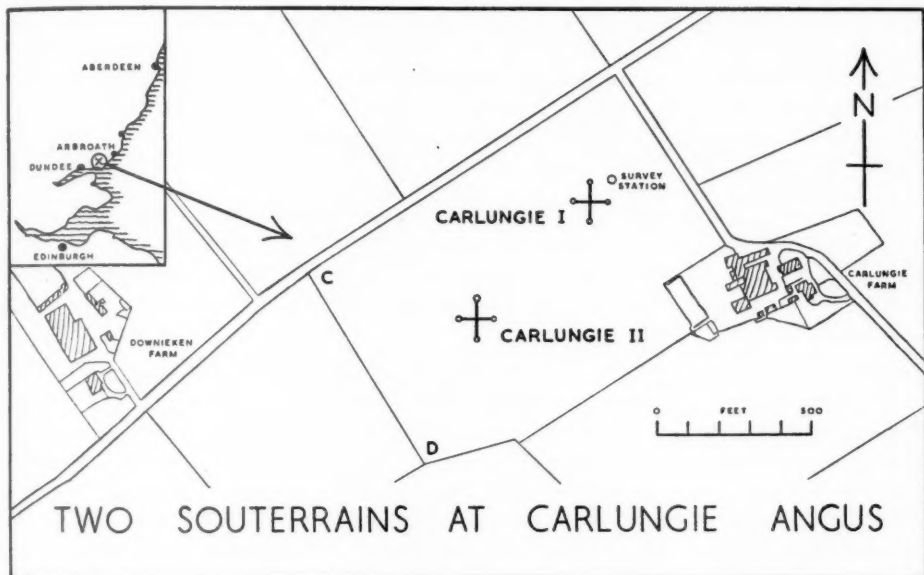


FIG. 1. Based on Ordnance Survey 25-Inch Plan, Forfarshire, Sheet LI 10, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved.

have been completely excavated, both now lie open for inspection, and both are preserved as ancient monuments under the guardianship of the Ministry of Works. The third site is Carlungie II. Its fate has been very different. After a short exploratory excavation the structure was reburied, and there is nothing above ground to catch the eye.

THE SITE

The farm of Carlungie is about half a mile north of the Dundee-Arbroath road at a point rather more than eight miles from Dundee and rather less than nine miles from Arbroath. It is in the parish of Monikie, and it is marked on Ordnance Survey one-inch, six-inch, and 25-inch maps or plans.¹

¹ Scottish Popular Edition Sheets 57 and 58; Angus Sheet LI SW; and Forfarshire Sheet LI 10 respectively.

The two sites, Carlungie I and Carlungie II, are both in the same field, that which lies immediately to the north-west of Carlungie Farm. Their positions are shown on the accompanying map (fig. 1). Carlungie II (Nat. Grid Ref. NO 510358) is about 150 yards south-west of Carlungie I (Nat. Grid Ref. NO 511359). As there is now no visible trace of the site, the position of our exploratory trench is here recorded with precision. Point E (see pl. xvi, *b* and fig. 2) is 564 ft. from the field-corner C (fig. 1), 500 ft. from the field-corner D, and 629 ft. from the survey station O which was set up for the 1950-1 excavation of Carlungie I.

The present ground-level at E is 192 ft. above Ordnance Datum. Between Carlungie I and Carlungie II there is a low ridge which rises gently to a height of 194 or 195 ft. O.D. Carlungie II lies on its western or further slope, on falling and therefore presumably well-drained ground, but some distance from the crest. This is normal—even characteristic. Souterrains in the Tay valley were always constructed on a gentle slope, usually near but seldom right on the crest of a ridge or knoll. Topographically, therefore, Carlungie II is what may be described as a typical souterrain site.

The whole area around the site carries a deposit of boulder clay, which in some parts of the field is covered by no more than 5 or 6 inches of soil. At E the boulder clay is 2 ft. 10 in. below the surface, and it constitutes the 'undisturbed' layer. The thickness of the layer was not ascertained, but at Carlungie I it is known to be several feet.

DISCOVERY

On 7 November 1949 I was at Carlungie I, marking out an area in preparation for the excavation planned for 1950, and the farm griever drew my attention to the second site, where a slab had been displaced by a tractor-drawn plough. The griever had dug a shallow hole, some 9 or 10 in. deep, and had exposed the edges of three overlapping slabs arranged, as he described it, in 'steps'. The lie of the land and the proximity of Carlungie I led me to the tentative conclusion that the 'steps' were the upper slabs of a souterrain wall seen from outside the passage itself, i.e. that they represented normal souterrain corbelling in reverse, as it were. But Carlungie I absorbed all our attention in the summer of 1950, and it was not until Easter 1951 that I found an opportunity to examine Carlungie II.

THE EXCAVATION (27-28 MARCH 1951)

The excavation was strictly limited in scope and purpose. The aim was simply to identify the structure. By the end of the first day this had been achieved, and the second morning was devoted to cleaning, photographic recording, and filling-in. A preliminary trench located the site, which had been covered over again in November 1949, and this was then slewed round to cut at right angles what promised to be a subterranean passage. Section W-E (fig. 2) records the result of the excavation. The trench was 20 ft. long and 4 ft. 6 in. wide. The true bearing of E-W is 270°, i.e. point W is due west of point E.

The underground structure was revealed as a passage (see pl. xvi, *b*). It had a roughly paved floor. It was about 6 ft. 6 in. wide at the bottom, and its walls,

which were built of glacially worn boulders surmounted by slabs, were corbelled inwards at the top. In other words, it was immediately recognizable as an earth-house or souterrain of the kind that is common in the Tay valley. Its distinctive structural features are repeated at Ardestie and Carlungie I as well as at sites discovered in the last century or earlier. And this applies not only to the conspicuous boulder-and-slab walling and to the corbelling but also to minor constructional devices such as the use of small stones for pinning and binding.

The roof of the passage had gone, but probably not more than two slabs are missing at the point where the section was cut. The interior height, from paving

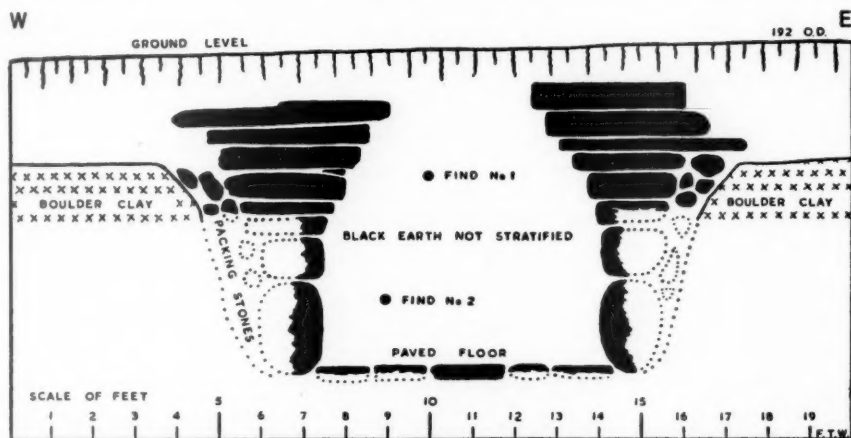


FIG. 2. Section across souterrain at Carlungie II.

to roof, would be about 6 ft. 6 in. The passage itself was filled with moist black earth, and there was no trace of stratification. It would seem that the souterrain was filled-in deliberately and in a single continuous operation. This deliberate wrecking and filling-in of a souterrain—if at Carlungie II we may so interpret the evidence—is paralleled at other sites in the area.

The section shows that the undisturbed layer of boulder clay lies 2 ft. 10 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. below the present ground surface at E and W respectively. The builders of the passage first excavated a trench, some 5 ft. into the boulder clay, and this they faced with boulders and slabs, continuing the superstructure upwards above the level of the boulder clay and probably also above what was then the surface of the covering soil. This preliminary excavation of a trench and the subsequent facing of its sides are the normal first phases in souterrain construction, and so yet another feature, common to souterrain structures, is repeated at Carlungie II.

The space between the excavated trench and the wall itself was packed with earth and small stones. Outside the walls of the passage we penetrated the layer of boulder clay, but, as the section shows, we did not go deeper than 4 ft. from the modern ground-level. Nevertheless the dotted lines on the section may be taken to

represent the profile of the trench, as it was excavated by the souterrain-builders, and to indicate that the packing material continued beyond the depth of our penetration. A similar profile and a similar use of packing material were noted at Ardestie and Carlungie I. And no doubt they occur also at other sites long ago discovered but never satisfactorily excavated.

Finds from earth-houses are seldom distinguished by their abundance or by their elegance, but at Carlungie II there happened to be two finds in the comparatively small area excavated. One was a fragment of a rotary quern about which there is nothing remarkable. The other was a finely wrought brooch which would be impressive in any context. It illustrates the element of luck in excavation that a few hours and a single trench can provide a find intrinsically more interesting, aesthetically more beautiful, and altogether more spectacular than any of the finds made during many weeks of large-scale excavation at Ardestie and Carlungie I.

THE FINDS

1. A brooch. Found within the underground passage, embedded in the filling, 10 ft. 0 in. west of E, 4 ft. 6 in. above the paved floor, 3 ft. 0 in. below the modern ground-level, and 1 ft. 9 in. south of the line E-W (on which section its position is projected). See fig. 2 and pl. xvi, a.
2. A fragment of the upper stone of a rotary quern. Found within the underground passage, embedded in the filling, 11 ft. 0 in. west of E, 1 ft. 7 in. above the paved floor, 5 ft. 10 in. below the modern ground-level, and 1 ft. 3 in. south of the line E-W (on which section its position is projected). See fig. 2.

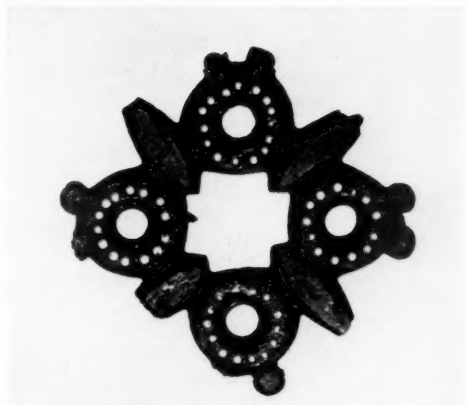
The fragment of the rotary quern is about a third of the upper stone which, when complete, was some 16 in. in diameter and 2 in. thick. Three inches from the edge there is a vertical handle-socket, but the central aperture, through which the corn was poured, is not preserved in the surviving fragment. The stone is Old Red Flagstone and very hard. The grinding-surface is well worn, quite flat (i.e. horizontal), and ungrooved. That is to say this quern, markedly different from Romano-British querns found in southern Britain,¹ falls into line with the many similar querns found in Scotland. Querns of this size and shape are among the commonest finds in souterrain structures, but they do not provide close dating evidence. It is possible that some future study of quern types will place this group firmly within the period A.D. 100-700, but it would be unwise to attempt a closer dating of this find until more attention has been devoted to the study of querns, especially rotary querns which were made and used throughout the Christian era to our own day. In other words, this quern does not help us to date the structure at Carlungie II.

By comparison the brooch is a rare and exotic find which stands out among the unexciting objects usually associated with souterrain structures. It is bronze, cast in one piece, and decorated with glass and enamel set in prepared hollows.² In

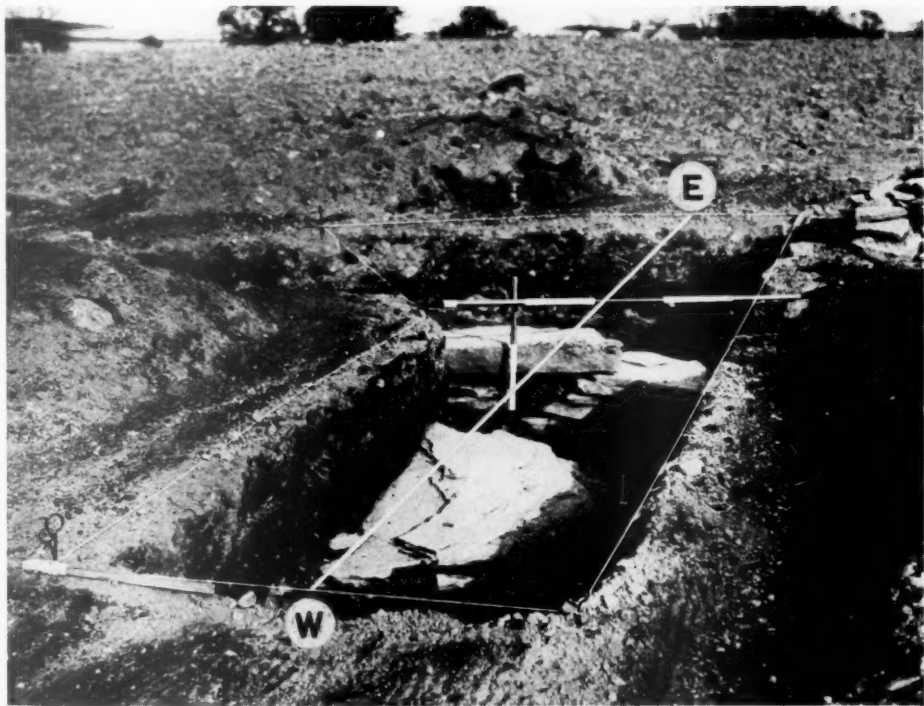
¹ See E. Cecil Curwen, 'Querns', *Antiquity*, xi (1937), pp. 133-51.

² In the following description of the Carlungie brooch I have had most generous assistance from many scholars. Professor I. A. Richmond of King's

College, Newcastle upon Tyne, kindly advised me on problems of date and provenance; Dr. D. B. Harden of the Ashmolean Museum spared no pains in the examination of the brooch and guided me to a technically correct description of its composition



a. Brooch from Carlungie II (†)



b. Carlungie II. Excavation and Line of Section W-E.

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form it consists of four circular bands separated by four pointed ovals; the circular bands and the pointed ovals are arranged alternately, and each band has two smaller circles projecting from it. The whole would fit into a square of 2 by 2 in. The pointed ovals and the small projecting circles are filled with bright blue glass inlays,¹ secured by a flux of red enamel,² and these inlays have been ground flush with the surface of the edges of the bronze hollows after insertion. The circular bands are inset with what appears to be enamel, now yellowish-grey but originally perhaps pale yellow.³ Each inset is studded with thirteen to fifteen tiny circlets of opaque white glass. The whole forms a colourful and not unpleasing piece of jewellery. The photograph reproduced on pl. xvi, a, reveals the broken pin behind the circular band on the left; here are the two projections that form the hinge. The catch-plate is behind the outer side of the opposite circular band. Hinge and catch-plate were both cast in one piece with the brooch itself. Only the hinge-portion of the pin survives.

Professor Ian A. Richmond has seen the Carlungie brooch, and he reports that in general style it has much in common with the products of the Belgian Villa d'Anthee and that, in particular, its brilliant glassy blue insets are typical of the belt clasps from Belgica of which a hoard was found in association with the third-century angle-tower at South Shields.

A photograph of the brooch was submitted to Monsieur F. Courtoy, curator of the Musée Archéologique de Namur, who kindly referred to two very similar brooches found with a burial of Roman (? second-century) date at Onhaye near Namur, published (with incorrect indication of the locality) in *Annales de la*

and decoration; Dr. Harden also secured reports and comments from Monsieur F. Courtoy of the Musée Archéologique de Namur, from Dr. H. J. Plenderleith, Dr. W. Campbell Smith, Dr. F. A. Bannister, and Dr. G. F. Claringbull of the British Museum, and from Mr. E. M. Jope of Queen's University, Belfast; Mr. Jope's contribution provides the interesting and important results of spectrographic analysis. I am deeply grateful for all this help, so willingly offered, in a problem quite outside the range of my own knowledge.

¹ Identified by Dr. Bannister and Dr. Claringbull of the British Museum.

² Mr. E. M. Jope has kindly supplied the following note: 'The thin layer of red enamel can be seen between the bronze and the blue glass in section at the edges of the breaks. In this case I have been able to show by spectrographic analysis that the red material contains lead, copper, and silicon as main constituents, red enamel being a fine suspension of opaque red cuprous oxide in a lead silicate matrix. This is a most ingenious process for fixing the blue glass to the bronze, which we have been able to trace on many brooches of the Roman period in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Whether it is widespread in the Empire, or a process confined to the

Gallia Belgica workshops, it is not at present possible to say, but the same process is used in earlier work in Britain, securing for example the blue settings in the Westhall mounts (*British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, 1925, pl. viii, no. 1; the Rise bit, no. 4 in this plate, is, however, misleadingly illustrated) and, as E. T. Leeds observed many years ago, those of a terret from Suffolk (*Celtic Ornament*, 1933, p. 42). The glass settings were presumably pressed into place in the hollows of the bronze in a paste of powdered red enamel and then heated. The red enamel melts at about 685° C., well below the melting points of both the glass and the bronze, which are thus firmly fused together. As with most early glasswork, annealing must have been skilful and efficient. The making of successful glass-copper seals has at times taxed the ingenuity of modern technology.'

³ Mr. E. M. Jope has kindly supplied the following note: 'Spectrographic analysis shows that Lead is a major constituent of this material, and Antimony is also traceable though not present in large quantities. The yellow colour of the enamel is usually considered to be produced by Lead Antimoniate. Chromium cannot be traced.'

Société Archéologique de Namur, xxiv (1900), p. 273. Another very similar brooch from the Roman fort at Pfünz is now in the museum at Eichstätt (F. Winkelmann, *Kataloge West- und Süddeutscher Altertumsammlungen*, vi (Eichstätt), 1926, p. 187, fig. 48, no. 14; and *Germania Romana*, v (Kunstgewerbe und Handwerk), 1930, pl. x, fig. 3, no. 14). A brooch from Camelon, now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, is also very similar in design and execution (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxv, plate opposite p. 404). These examples have all got white dots set in coloured enamel. Brooches from other sites, similarly enamelled but different in shape, have black glass dots set in a white ground. All these enamelled brooches are generally thought to have been made mainly if not solely in Gallia Belgica, and they are attributed to the late second or early third century. The Carlungie brooch is now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

CONCLUSIONS

It would be unwise to strain after final or too detailed conclusions from the evidence of a single exploratory trench, but it is unlikely that future excavation will overturn the identification of Carlungie II as an earth-house or souterrain. The various constructional and topographical features, discussed above, all point unequivocally in this direction. Carlungie II, therefore, may be added to the growing list of souterrain structures in Angus.

Of its general plan nothing is known except that at the point of investigation the souterrain is running in a north to south direction. We may assume that the passage is curved and we may assume that there once existed a complex of surface structures, but no trace of such details appeared in our exploratory trench. They can be supplied only by further excavation, and no useful purpose would be served by the complete excavation of the site at present or in the immediate future. It is better that it should lie in reserve for some future attempt to elucidate problems that will certainly emerge more clearly when recently accumulated information has been assembled and digested.

The sequence of events remains as obscure as the plan of the settlement. Carlungie II was, it seems, a normal souterrain structure, and the limited evidence at our disposal at least suggests that it was ultimately dismantled, a fate which it shared with Ardestie and Carlungie I. This deliberate wrecking of the site is probably connected with its re-use for habitational or agricultural purposes, but the date of the wrecking is still unknown. It should not be difficult to settle this question, but our single trench threw up no clue.

Chronologically one may fairly associate Carlungie II with Ardestie, Carlungie I and other souterrains in the area. They fall into a single well-defined structural group, and they are traditionally attributed to the second century of the Christian era. Evidence has accumulated which may extend the occupation of these sites into the third and possibly later centuries of the Christian era, but this raises a question the discussion of which must be for the present postponed.

What of the datable evidence peculiar to the site itself? The quern, which may be attributed somewhat vaguely to the early Christian era, as yet offers no closer

evidence of date than the general arguments adduced above. The testimony of the brooch is more definite. Its attribution to a period which centres on A.D. 200 would seem to indicate that the site was occupied in the third century and possibly at the end of the second century. Allowing for the fact that an ornament of such beauty, reaching the far north by trade or as loot, would certainly be prized in a community not rich in material wealth, and might be handed from one owner to another, the brooch could even indicate that Carlungie II was occupied in the fourth century. More cannot be said, for we do not know enough about how and when such objects reached the north. This may seem a wide-open chronological door, but we are fortunate to have been able to close it thus far by the evidence from such a limited and small-scale excavation.

It will not have escaped notice that neither the brooch nor the quern were found where their owners had left or lost them. It seems quite clear that both were shovelled into the open souterrain when it was deliberately filled with earth. This somewhat diminishes their value as dating evidence, for their use in this connexion involves the assumption that they are associated with the souterrain and are not just unrelated objects accidentally thrown into it. It is not a difficult assumption to accept, however, especially if one seeks a possible alternative. There is not much doubt that both brooch and quern belonged to the people of the souterrain, and that they were shovelled into the souterrain from associated surface structures, the existence of which has been suggested above. Their value as dating evidence may be slightly impaired by the circumstances under which they were found, but the assumption that surface structures were attached to the souterrain is correspondingly strengthened.

Finally, it is not without significance that Carlungie II is so near to Carlungie I and that both are within a mile of Ardestie. Many souterrains have been found in Angus—some have been lost again—but it is unlikely that the list has yet begun to approach completion. Many sites still await discovery, and it would not be surprising to find more even on the present farm of Carlungie. Souterrains are scattered widely over the fertile land of Angus, but their distribution reveals a marked tendency towards concentrations or clusters. There were at least six in the parish of Airlie and at least four in Kirriemuir; and in the Ardestie-Carlungie area there may well have been a cluster comparable to the Kildrummy group in Aberdeenshire. But questions of distribution and density, as well as questions concerning archaeological affinities, historical implications, economic conditions, and possible political arrangements, all fall outside the scope of this report. It is enough to see Carlungie II as adding its own splash of colour to a picture which promises to mirror a country-side heavily populated by souterrain-dwellers in the period where history meets archaeology.

NOTES

Part of a Roman lead coffin lid from Glamorgan.—Mrs. L. Murray Threipland, F.S.A., sends the following note: In the autumn of 1951 Mr. W. Cometson, farmer, found a piece of lead when he was ploughing up waste land at Cefn On, on the limestone ridge north of Cardiff. The lead probably, by its size, part of a coffin lid rather than a funerary canister, is an unusual find in Wales and has a number of interesting features. It weighs 24½ lb. and consists of a slightly curved strip, about ½ in. thick, is 12 in. wide at one end, narrowing to 7 in. at the other. It is rather damaged by plough grooves and has a shattered hole at one end (pl. xvii and fig. 1). The top surface is decorated with the 'bead and reel' pattern¹ commonly found on lead coffin lids,² in a lattice between two parallel horizontals. In the panels so formed are various figures or symbols which will be discussed below. The wider end is probably the actual head of the lid, for the beading differs from the rest in having three vertical beads instead of two and is carried over the edge, but the other end and the sides have been hacked off so that the decoration³ is incomplete.

There are three figures or symbols and parts of three others in the panels enclosed by the bead lattice. At the top centre is a symbol of two concentric circles with a central knob, and the same symbol is in the lozenge to the right. This is a common representation on monuments and is probably meant for a *patera* with its ritualistic significance as a libation pourer. Below and on the left comes an incomplete version of a charioteer and two horses, but only a whip and a hand holding the reins can still be seen. The figure of Sol driving a *quadriga* is common on lead coffins⁴ and elsewhere, but it is rare to find him in a *biga* and it is possible that here was the figure of Luna⁵ instead.

Next on the right is the figure of a soldier on horseback. Similar equestrian figures are common on tombstones⁶ usually shown trampling an enemy, but here the soldier with a plumed helmet and booted foot sits on a gently pacing horse, with a large hexagonal shield bearing a circular central device,⁷ covering his body from shoulder to knee. Under him is shown a fringed housing, and the tip of a spear can be seen sticking out behind the top of his shield. On his right side is a pole with some kind of object attached to it, projecting forward over his horse's neck. The object itself is difficult to determine; it looks more like a *vexillum* than anything else, though as it is shown from the back with the pole seen on the near side of the flag⁸ it does not have its usual aspect. There is no sign either of the tip of the pole or any ensign showing above the crosspiece.⁹ This figure of a soldier, as well as suggesting that the coffin was a military one, and the owner himself perhaps a *vexillarius*, helps to give a date to the whole. The large hexagonal shield was

¹ Does this 'bead', 'bead and reel', or 'cable' pattern so frequently found on coffin lids and canisters in fact represent a netting of real beads strung across wood or clay coffins for apotropaic purposes?

² British Museum, *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, p. 102, pl. x, and *Archaeologia*, xxv, 308; and xxxi, 333.

³ Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, nos. 5729, 5842, 5887.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 3956, and B.M. *Guide Roman Brit.*, p. 100, fig. 121.

⁵ Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii, figs. 18, 63, 66, pls. 1 and v, show her with two horses.

⁶ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, fig. 6421, p. 1314, shows a mounted *vexillarius* with a lance trampling the body of an enemy.

⁷ There is a suggestion of something below and above the central circle, but it is too indefinite to describe.

⁸ *J.R.S.* xxxii, pl. vi, 1, 2, 3, shows rough drawings of *vexilla* from Dura-Europos and Palmyra with the pole on the near side of the flag.

⁹ Cp. *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome*, xiii, fig. 15, in the photograph of a Dacian fort from Trajan's Column, but the tip may have been of missing metal. Also G. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, pls. III, 2 and LXI.

used by the cavalry in the late first and second centuries A.D. and the long plumed helmet with small curved neck protector has much the same range of date.¹ Other decorated lead coffin lids found in this country have not often been dated²—those in the British Museum have been

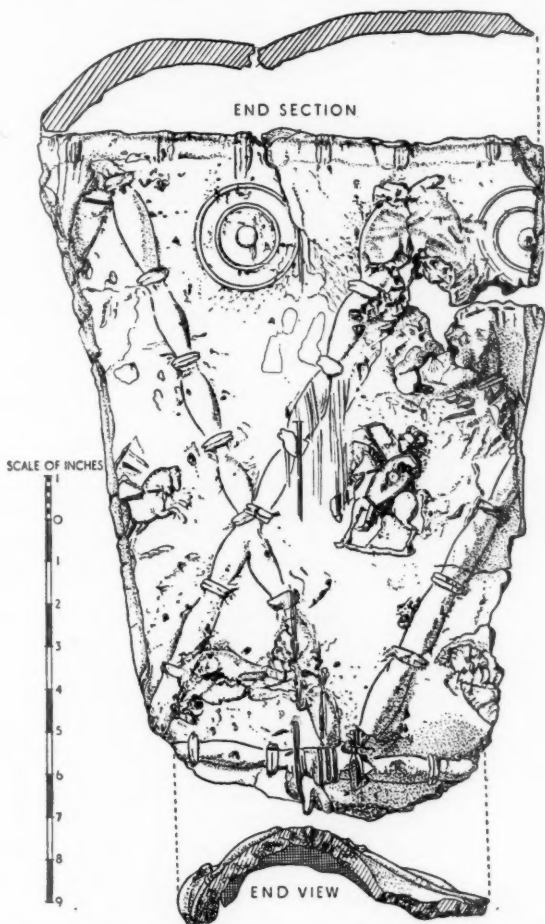


FIG. 1. Part of a Roman lead coffin-lid from Glamorgan (4).

judged of the 'later Roman period'³—and it seems perhaps unwise here to postulate an early date on the basis of military accoutrements alone, without some equally early dated parallels. In any case, if as seems likely the fragment represents an inhumation-burial, it cannot be earlier than the end of the second century.

¹ P. Coussin, *Les Armes romaines*, pp. 394 f. and 403 f.

² *Archaeologia*, xxi, 2, 308 dates one found at

Bow by associated coins to the fourth or fifth centuries A.D.

³ *Guide to Roman Britain*, p. 101.

Below the soldier, on the left, is a rather damaged lion guardant, his curly tufted rear paw(s) on the ground and his fore paw(s) crouched under him. The head is much destroyed by a plough groove, but the posture is not uncommon, and a lion again is often shown on lead coffin lids.¹

On the right is a perplexing fragment which I think is the bearded head of a winged monster, perhaps a sphinx. It is possible, instead, that the head is a female one with a wavy mane below the chin, but there are no other feminine characteristics. There is the beginning of a wing behind the shoulder and a suggestive breakage line ending in the round blob of a claw, coming forward below the body.

So much for the figures; but there seems an alternative possibility to the haphazard grouping of a number of apotropaic symbols round the figure of a *vexillarius*. It may well be that, as the lion and Sol (or Luna) are both Mithraic symbols, the soldier, too, merely represents the initiation grade of *miles*.

The field in which this coffin lid turned up was carefully searched but no other objects were found, nor was there any sign of ancient disturbance near by. There are old lead workings not far off and the tradition of a cross-ridge Roman road south of Cefn On. The find-spot is, however, only a few yards off the clearly defined ridgeway track running east and west along a hill ridge north of the Bristol Channel alluvial plain, and the piece of lead is a convenient size for carrying as loot.

I should like to thank Dr. V. E. Nash-Williams for his help with a number of references, and Lady Fox for her suggestions about this lid. It is being presented to the National Museum of Wales.

A decorated bronze fragment from a Roman well near Winterborne Kingston, Dorset.—Mr. R. A. H. Farrar sends the following note: Since Mr. R. G. Goodchild described the decorated bronze sceptre-binding found by Tupper at the Romano-Celtic temple on Farley Heath, Surrey,² several comparable discoveries have been made, namely, the undecorated strips from Llyn Cerrig Bach³ and the triangular plaque decorated in similar style from the temple site at Woodeaton, near Oxford.⁴ The present note seeks to add to their number a further discovery, hitherto unnoticed, which was made in a well of Roman date excavated in 1889 by J. C. Mansel-Pleydell in the parish of Winterborne Kingston and somewhat sketchily described in *Proc. Dorset N.H. & A.F.C.* xi (1890), 1–6.

The object⁵ is a short strip of thin sheet bronze, about 1 in. wide and 1½ in. long (pl. xviii), bearing in repoussé a figure of an animal crudely executed in outline⁶ in the hyphenated technique employed both in the Farley Heath and the Woodeaton fragments.⁷ In spite of the absence of an attempt to depict the characteristically powerful hind legs, the suggestion, made by Professor Hawkes, that the animal is a hare seems preferable to any other. In addition to this figure there are two 'alphabetical' symbols which recall those scattered between the figures on the Farley Heath strip. These consist of two parallel strokes placed obliquely at the top left-hand corner of the fragment and a broad U-shaped figure near the right-hand corner.

The object seemingly belongs to that class of crude hybrid Romano-Celtic decorative art, apparently of religious character, represented by the Farley Heath strip and the Woodeaton

¹ *Guide to Roman Britain*, p. 102, pl. x.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), 391–6; xxvii (1947), 83–85.

³ Sir Cyril Fox, *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey* (1947), 45–46.

⁴ Joan R. Kirk, *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 37, 43; fig. 9, no. 3.

⁵ Dorset County Museum, 1901.2.42.

⁶ The apparent eye is accidental, due to a corrosion hole.

⁷ The same means of building up the figure were used in the engraving of animal figures, including the hare, on a clay flask from Matzhausen: Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art* (1944), no. 402.



Part of a Roman lead coffin-lid from Glamorgan ($\frac{1}{3}$)



Bronze fragment from a Roman well at Winterborne
Kingston, Dorset ($\frac{2}{1}$)

plaque, but its fragmentary condition leaves its exact character uncertain. If it formed part of a strip—and the two parallel sides appear certainly, in spite of some roughness due to corrosion or other damage, to have been edges—there is no indication of how or to what it was fixed. It is now flat, although an oblique fold shows that it has at one time been bent sharply. This fold is not sufficiently oblique to indicate that the object, if a strip, was wound spirally round a square shaft. On the other hand, the parallel edges show some sign of bending, particularly in a small projection visible midway on the right side, as if the fragment had formed one side of a hollow casing of which the remaining two or more sides have snapped off. Such an object might still have been a sceptre mount, but it could equally well have belonged to some other article of a religious or votive character.

Amongst the other objects from the well that were recorded, or are preserved in the museum, and which range from the first to the fourth century A.D., there is only one object at all comparable: a rectangular corner fragment of a larger and thicker bronze sheet or plaque bordered and crossed diagonally with a single erratic line of repoussé dots, the only other decorative feature being a row or feathering of oblique strokes along one side immediately within the dotted border.

Although the well implies permanent occupation, no remains of masonry have been recorded, but Mansel-Pleydell described the discovery, about 4 ft. from the well, of a curious circle, which he took to be of a religious character, of eight 'burnt tiles' of varying sizes placed on edge at 10-in. intervals, with, in the centre, a small sarsen with an iron knife close to it, and, near by, an oblong pit filled with a mass of broken pottery, flints, and ashes, all subjected to the action of fire.¹ The exact site has not yet been rediscovered, although it is clear that it was on Kingston Down over Upper Chalk 'overlaid with materials derived from the Woolwich and Reading Beds', within a few hundred yards of the Roman road from Badbury to Dorchester and 'in a neighbouring field' to the Roman well in Bere Regis parish (Nat. grid ref. SY(30)/85149715).

Niello.—Dr. A. A. Moss contributes the following.—In the course of an investigation² into the nature and properties of niello, generally regarded as being a mixture of the sulphides of copper, silver, and lead, non-destructive tests³ were developed and applied in the examination of nielli selected from the British Museum collections to illustrate the use of niello from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century.

As a result of this examination, the conclusion was reached that although all the niello inlays consisted of metallic sulphides, those used before about the eleventh century were made of a single sulphide, namely silver sulphide, whereas after that time mixed sulphides of silver, copper, and sometimes lead were employed. The results of this investigation have already proved valuable in helping to establish the early date and so the authenticity of the Fuller brooch, which had long been regarded as a fake (see Table).⁴

Not only did the composition of niello change about the eleventh century, but so also did the technique of applying it. For whereas the mixed sulphides of silver and copper (and lead) can readily be fused and made to flow into the channels cut to receive them, the melting-point of silver sulphide is not only inconveniently high, viz. 835° C., but also, it cannot be melted in air without

¹ Miss M. V. Taylor has kindly drawn the writer's attention to the hearth, probably now to be interpreted as of ritual character, in the circular shrine adjoining the Frilford temple (*Oxoniensia*, iv, 36–37), and quotes the recent discovery of a hearth of flanged tiles, which had been used many times, at the centre of the cella of the Wood Eaton temple.

² A full account of this investigation will appear

in 'Studies in Conservation', No. 2 (1953), *Journal of the International Institute for the Conservation of Museum Objects* (London, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.).

³ Tests that can be applied directly to the object, and that do not harm it in any way.

⁴ The items shown in the table are only a selection from a large number tested.

decomposition. If attempts are made to melt silver sulphide it decomposes into silver and sulphur: the sulphur burns away as sulphur dioxide and the residue is metallic silver. Silver sulphide, however, becomes plastic at a temperature much lower than its melting-point, and it is possible to inlay it in metal by the simple process of filling the engraved channels with the powdered sulphide and, after heating the metal and inlay gently over a flame, rubbing the black powder with a burnisher. In those instances where the inlay is silver sulphide there can be little doubt that some such technique was employed, although the dexterity with which it was carried out varied considerably, as is readily apparent if the niello of the Fuller brooch is compared with that in the Æthelwulf ring.¹ Furthermore, the adherence between niello and metal would not be expected to be so great after this 'rubbing-in' process as it would be if the niello had been inlaid when molten. This seems to have been generally realized, for where silver sulphide has been employed the base of the channels has usually been roughened to provide a key for the niello, such a device being unnecessary if the niello is applied in the molten state.

Period		Object	Metal	Composition of niello	Reference
2nd cent.	Roman	Bowl (Chatuzange Treasure)	Silver	Silver sulphide only	<i>Catalogue of Silver Plate</i> , 1921, no. 133.
2nd "	"	Plate (Chaurce Treasure)	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 151.
2nd "	"	Lanx (Chaurce Treasure)	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 154.
5th "	Byzantine	Spoon (Carthage Treasure)	"		<i>Guide to Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities</i> , 1921, 128, 175.
7th " (?)	"	Finger-ring	Gold		<i>Catalogue of Finger Rings</i> , 1912, no. 48; <i>Arch. J.</i> xix (1862), 325.
9th " (before 858)	Anglo-Saxon	Æthelwulf's ring	"		<i>Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities</i> , 1923, 114.
9th "	"	Æthred's ring	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , 115.
9th "	"	Disc-brooch inlaid with gold and niello	Silver		<i>B.M.</i> 1947, 7-2, 1.
9th " (before 871)	"	Pin with polygonal head (Trewiddle Hoard)	"		<i>Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities</i> , 1923, 100 (fig. 120, I).
9th " (before 874)	"	Two disc-brooches (Beeston Tor)	"		<i>Antiq. J.</i> v (1925), 138 (figs. 3 and 4)
9th "	Late Saxon	Fuller disc-brooch	"		<i>B.M. Quarterly</i> 1952, xvii, 75
11th "	Irish	Bell shrine of St. Cuileann	Brass	Mixed sulphides of silver and copper (and sometimes lead)	<i>Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities</i> , 1923, 141.
11th-12th cent.	Persian	Belt trappings	Silver		<i>B.M. Quarterly</i> , 1939, xiii, 73.
15th-16th "	Italian	Knife handle	"		A. M. Hind, <i>Nielli in the British Museum</i> , 1936, no. 96.
15th-16th "	"	Small plates	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , nos. 38-43.
15th-16th "	"	Roundel	"		<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 55.
18th cent.	Turkish	Dagger and scabbard	"		<i>B.M.</i> 1930, 4-10.
19th "	Malayan	'Jadam' ware	"		Sir Frank Sweetnam,
19th "	"	'Chutam' work	Gilt silver		<i>British Malaya</i> , 1929, 138.

¹ See Table.

The fact that a fusible niello was not used before the eleventh century is hardly surprising when it is realized that, except for a passing reference by Pliny¹ to a method of blackening silver used by the Egyptians, no account of the preparation of a fusible niello mixture can be traced before the time of Theophilus and Eraclius (11th-12th century). About this time it must have become generally known that a mixture of the sulphides of silver, copper (and lead) gave an easily fusible niello without separation of silver, and the method of heating and burnishing the silver sulphide was abandoned in favour of the more effective and less tedious but more exacting process of fusing niello direct on to the metal.

¹ *Natural History*, book xxxiii, chap. 46.

REVIEWS

The Muslim Architecture of Egypt. By K. A. C. CRESWELL. I. *Ikshīds and Fāṭimids, A.D. 939-1171.* 17½ × 13. Pp. xxvi + 292 + pls. 125. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1952. 15 guineas.

The *Early Muslim Architecture* by our Fellow Dr. Creswell was widely hailed as marking a new era in the history of Near Eastern studies; it was questioned whether any period of architecture in any country had ever been treated in such meticulous detail. The period covered in that work stretched from 622 to 905 and readers were taken to every land, from Spain to Bukhara, where Islamic monuments were to be seen. The scope of the new work is more restricted: it is only once, in the first chapter, that we are taken away from Egypt and the period is confined to the years from 939 to 1171, but every monument is described with the same unflagging enthusiasm, the detail is as meticulous or more so.

The book has been produced in the same sumptuous style by the Clarendon Press: the photographs are as excellent, the plans and line-figures as delicate, and in an end-pocket two maps, printed by the Egyptian Survey Department, show all the Mohammedan monuments in Cairo in seven colours. Exhaustive bibliographies are attached to the descriptions of all the greater buildings. Creswell has lived for many years in Egypt and has been able to ransack the archives of the Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments for much unpublished material and, where this is defective, to interrogate old employees.

The earlier work was dedicated to King Fuad; this volume, we are told, would never have seen the light but for a munificent gift towards the cost of printing by Prince Faruq.

The volume is only part of the debt which students of the Muslim architecture of Egypt owe to Creswell. Those who knew the Fatimid buildings in Cairo at the beginning of the century will be astounded at the transformation which has taken place, a transformation to which he has contributed materially.

The splendid gates in the north wall, the Bab an-Nasr and the Bab al-Futuh, were disfigured by later excrescences, the curtain wall between them cluttered up with a mass of squalid hovels; two of the finer mosques, those of al-Hakim and as-Salih Talai, were mere ruins; the Azhar one knew to be a Fatimid foundation, but few could have told what parts of it, if any, dated from the Fatimid age; we knew even less about the minor buildings of the period which have survived in Cairo and Upper Egypt. The greatest change has taken place in the region of the gates: on both sides of the Bab al-Futuh the wall has been cleared for a distance of more than 400 metres, the long inscription on the Bab an-Nasr has been uncovered, and the more incongruous additions removed, an undertaking pressed on the Government by Creswell and carried out at a cost of some £E.40,000. The mosque of al-Hakim is still in a deplorable state; half the court is occupied by a hideous modern school, but the grand façade has been cleared on both sides by the Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments of which Creswell has for years been an active member. The Committee has also been at work on the mosque of as-Salih Talai: here all except the sanctuary was so ruinous that it had to be taken down stone by stone and rebuilt from the bottom. The Azhar buildings which house the largest university in the Muslim world have been replanned by Creswell and the numerous accretions that have grown round it disentangled: he found it necessary to use twelve different colours and hatchings to distinguish the successive periods and a thirteenth for parts he has failed to determine. At Aswan and some other places he came on the scene too late to rescue more than a fragment of what might have been recovered, but all that survived has been saved.

Now, consequently, for the first time it is possible to form an adequate picture of Fatimid architecture in Egypt.

The Fatimids came from the region of Tunis, and the first chapter of this book is about the rise of the dynasty and the foundation there of Mahdiya, the capital of the first Shia caliph. Egypt was not conquered until 969 in the reign of al-Moizz the fourth caliph, and his general, Gawhar, immediately set about founding a new city north of Fustat. It was to be a palace city like those which earlier caliphs had founded in the suburbs of Qairowan, with royal residences in the middle and quarters for the great officers of state and the garrison on either side. The line of Gawhar's walls, which enclosed rather more than a square kilometre, has been traced by Creswell (fig. 10), but the walls themselves have long disappeared. Two gates, however, in later walls, the Bab al-Futuh and the Bab Zuwayla, have preserved the names of gates in Mansuriya, one of the palace cities near Qairowan, after which Gawhar named the new capital. The name of the place was changed to al-Qahira by al-Moizz when he visited it four years after the conquest.

During the Fatimid period, 969-1171, Cairo passed through some of the most astonishing vicissitudes, times of extravagant wealth alternating with years of the deepest misery. Al-Aziz (975-96) is the only caliph of whom historians have any good to relate; his son al-Hakim (996-1021), who is still, paradoxically, worshipped by the Druses, was a monster of cruelty. But thanks to some capable ministers, to the natural wealth of the country, and the industry and skill of cultivators and craftsmen, Egypt prospered: fabulous tales are told of the luxury of the Fatimid princesses, their precious stones, the embroideries from Sicily, the Persian silks, basins and ewers of pure crystal, and fine fabrics woven in Egyptian towns. A low Nile in 1025 caused a famine, but about twenty years later the Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau was astounded at the splendour of Cairo, the well-built houses five or six stories high and the irrigated gardens. Misrule and a succession of low Niles, 1066-72, caused another famine and an outbreak of cannibalism in the capital, passers-by in the streets being caught on hooks let down from the windows, drawn up, killed, and cooked. Good Niles, however, and the advent in 1074 of a great Armenian, Badr al-Gamali, ushered in another prosperous epoch and a revival of fine building. The last period of the Fatimid caliphate coincided with the domination of the Crusaders in Palestine; Egypt, which had been reduced again to anarchy by the fierce struggles of the foreign levies, Turkish, Berber, and Sudanese, on whom the caliphs relied, was described in 1167 by Shirkuh as a land 'without *men* and with a precarious and contemptible government', but one fine mosque at least dates from 1160.

Some forty monuments, great and small, are described in detail in this volume, many of them perhaps for the first time. As the history of the Fatimid dynasty might suggest, they fall into two groups. The mosque of al-Hakim, begun in 990 and finished in 1013, is the best representative of the earlier group. It is one of the largest in Cairo, measuring approximately 120 by 108 metres; a reconstructed bird's-eye view is published on fig. 44. There are two interesting features still recognizable in the ruined sanctuary: originally there were five long aisles running the whole width of the building parallel to the qibla wall but with a transverse aisle or transept, as it is here called, leading down the middle to the mihrab, and there was a small dome at each end of the back wall as well as a third in front of the mihrab. These features, the transept and the corner domes, are rare but not unique: both are to be traced in the Azhar which had been founded by Gawhar in 972. But far more remarkable now is the north-west façade, one of the most spectacular façades in Cairo. There are three great salients, a monumental entrance 15.50 m. wide projecting 6.16 m. from the face of the wall and towering minarets at the two corners. It is the first mosque in Egypt with an entrance which projects, but there are, or were, three similar salients on the façade of the great mosque at Mahdiya, and Creswell suggests that this was the original which the Cairo architect copied. If this is the case, however, the ground plan is the

only element which the latter borrowed, for anything more different in all other respects than the two entrances it would be difficult to imagine: the Mahdiya entrance is half the size of our entrance and it is very simply decorated, ours is a masterpiece of sophisticated ornamentation. At Mahdiya a round horse-shoe arch is 'flanked below by two shallow horse-shoe arched panels, and the arch above by two very narrow but deeper niches, semicircular in plan. Similar superimposed panels decorate the outer flanks' (Creswell, p. 5 and pl. 1 b). The description of the detail on the Hakim entrance runs over two pages and the illustrations (figs. 24, 25, pls. 16 and 17) give some idea of what it was once like; they show the moulding on the socle, the pilasters, the recessed panels and inset medallions between them, the bands of carving on the entablature, the pointed-arched hoods, and a fragment of the rectangular frame of Kufic writing which enclosed the whole composition. Four plain doors, two on each side, led into the mosque between this entrance and the minarets; one imagines they served the common worshippers and the middle entrance was kept for the caliph. Both minarets now rise out of square salients on the history of which Creswell, with the help of the Committee, has made many new discoveries which I must pass over, and rest content with drawing attention to his publication of the details of the horizontal bands with which they are decorated, nine on the northern, cylindrical, minaret, eleven on the western, which consisted of a square shaft with five receding octagonal stories above.

Two other mosques, al-Aqmar which was built in 1125 and the mosque of as-Salih Talai built in 1160, may be quoted as examples of later Fatimid architecture. Like the mosque of al-Hakim both were barbarously mishandled by later generations; the façade of the Aqmar was masked as early apparently as the fourteenth century by 'mean and filthy buildings' which were only removed from one wing after long negotiations in 1901.

The mosque is small and the façade, which was of singular beauty, was aligned on the street at an angle of 22 degrees with the mosque proper. The doorway in the entrance salient opens under a recess with a fluted hood, the fluting ornamented with a deeply carved roundel; on either side of the recess are niches with fluted semi-domes, above them four tiers of stalactites, and higher still little conched niches resting on colonnettes. The one wing now visible, that left of the entrance, has a recessed panel in the centre under another fluted hood, above the hood an empty circle now filled with bricks with two carved panels on each side, a rectangle above and a lozenge below. A bold Kufic inscription runs under a cavette cornice across entrance and wing, and over this there was an open-work cresting in stucco of which one fragment survives. The whole scheme of decoration is knit together by a torus moulding which forms a rectangular frame above the central recess, descends round the outer side of the tiers of stalactites, and continues horizontally across the wing on both sides of the hooded arch, the outline of which it follows.

The mosque of as-Salih Talai, which is close to the Bab Zuwayla, was built above rows of shops and the façade rose therefore high above the level of the street. It was planned like the façade of an ancient tetrastyle temple *in antis*, the antae being replaced by small rooms at each end of the portico; in front of the central bay in the portico a flight of steps led to the street from a little bridge under which people could walk to the shops. In the wall behind the portico there were two shallow keel-arched panels with fluted hoods on each side of the doorway and similar panels on the walls of the end rooms, that on the north-west face being the more elaborate. The long north-east wall of the mosque was relieved with panels of the same type, with windows in the arches; the remains of five vaulted shops were found beneath it on the original ground-level, and there was a salient doorway in the middle. Nearly the whole of this part of the mosque had either fallen or been buried behind later buildings; it had to be reconstructed by the Committee mostly from old materials, and in the process an arcade for which according to Creswell there was no good authority was added on the north-west side of the court. The sanctuary happily had suffered comparatively little, and much of the old decoration has survived on wooden tie-beams and imposts and in stucco round and above the arches, the finest being some great fluted roundels

in the spandrels: these, of course, are high above our heads, and 'to correct the effect of foreshortening they are designed eccentrically', the medallion in the centre being placed below the true centre and appearing normal when seen from below—'a correction comparable to the famous Greek refinements to be observed in the Parthenon' (p. 284).

The reviewer of an encyclopaedic work of this character, a work which contains a minute account of every known monument of the time, may be excused if he leaves much unsaid. The fortifications of Badr al-Gamali, the sequences of domes and pendentives, of mihrabs and minarets, the many small mausoleums and mashhads¹ of the period—these are a few of the subjects exactly described and amply illustrated in this volume which have been passed over in silence. The three mosques, however, on which I have dwelt will justify Creswell's summary of the Fatimid age 'as a virile period for art and architecture but chiefly in the field of decoration' (p. 289). Virile seems to me a happy epithet: in plan each of the three façades is markedly individual, in each case there were different problems to solve and the solutions are equally satisfying. The Fatimid caliphs had better generals, better ministers, and better architects than they deserved. But the chief glory of the age lay, no doubt, in its ornamentation, 'in the boldness and variety of its designs'.

The ornamentation is a development of a style of decoration that is characteristic of later Umayyad work in Syria. Many of the elements, of course, the recessed panels, for example, and the cresting above the walls have a much longer history, but it is in the Umayyad period, in palaces of the later caliphs of Damascus that have been excavated in Syria and Palestine, that one sees whole walls treated in the same fashion: the surface of the walls in the entrance to the palace at Mafjar, for example, is covered as completely with all-over patterns in stucco as the spandrels in the transept or the panels on the qibla wall of the Azhar mosque (pls. 4-14). These decorations are early; in the two mosques of the later group the spandrels are treated differently, the decoration confined to medallions inset in a plain surface. But in both periods long horizontal bands of stucco in low relief, filled generally with fine Kufic inscriptions, and similar frames round arches and windows take the place of cornices and mouldings in other schools of architecture, substitutes suggested perhaps by mosaic incrustations. The patterns are closer to those in the Syrian buildings I have referred to than to the rather dull repetitious stucco revetments at Samarra. Some fragments of woodwork from a Fatimid palace, decorated with birds and animals and men and women in various occupations (pls. 38, 39), are another link with secular Umayyad work, another disproof of the assertion that Semites were averse to such representations.

This volume is the first of a new work on the Muslim architecture of Egypt. In this field Creswell has had many distinguished predecessors, but no one has ever embraced so great a number of monuments or treated them with more rigorous exactitude. The book is a splendid achievement. We offer him the warmest congratulations.

J. W. CROWFOOT

City of Shepherd Kings. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., and *Ancient Gaza*, V. By ERNEST J. H. MACKAY, D.Litt., and MARGARET A. MURRAY, D.Lit. With an introductory chapter by HILDA FLINDERS PETRIE and chapters by ELINOR W. GARDNER and CARL PAPE. 12 × 9½. Pp. vii + 44. British School of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. lxiv. London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1952.

This volume is no. lxiv of the publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology, that is to say, in effect, of the work of Sir Flinders Petrie, though to this great number are still to be added volumes published under other auspices. It is an astounding record. Petrie lived and worked to a great age, but even allowing for this, no one has vied, or will ever vie, with him for rapidity of work and, what is more, rapidity of publication. *Ancient Gaza V* is probably the only

¹ A mashhad is a martyrrium; the Arabic word means exactly the same.

volume which did not appear within a year of the completion of the work, and Lady Petrie is to be congratulated and thanked for the fact that she has persevered with the publication in spite of Sir Flinders's death and the interruption of the war years.

The volume completes the publication of the excavation of the great site of Tell el Ajjul near the modern town of Gaza in Southern Palestine. It consists of two main sections, Petrie's review of the results of five years' excavations on the site and his discussion of various categories of the finds, and Dr. Mackay's account of the 1938 excavations, with additional chapters by Dr. Murray on evidence from the site about Beliefs and Rituals, and Miss Elinor Gardner on a rapid geological survey of the Wadi Ghazzeh; further sections on notes on various Palestinian and Trans-jordanian sites are irrelevant to the main subject.

The two main sections are entirely separate, to the extent even of publishing exact duplicates of the four plans, differing only in that the sets illustrating Petrie's section have levels computed in inches above sea-level, while those belonging to Mackay's section are calculated from a zero estimated to be 954 in. above sea-level. It seems a pity that, in a volume which starts with an appeal for donations to finance the publication of further Petrie manuscripts, some compromise could not have been reached to obviate this extravagance.

Petrie was responsible for pioneer work which first placed Palestinian archaeology on a scientific basis, for he first applied stratigraphical methods of excavation and first used the evidence of stratified pottery to establish the chronology of a site. But to the end he refused to alter his chronology, by sturdily ignoring the results of those who had built upon the foundations he had established. This chronological outline of the history of Ajjul in the present volume, therefore, requires substantial modification, and it is only fair to his memory that this should be done, for the material is there in his publications. The earliest occupation (Petrie's 'Copper Age'), attested by tombs but not by structures, is that of the rather mysterious nomadic people, possibly to be equated with the Amorites, who broke up the great Early Bronze Age civilization about 2100 B.C. They can best be described as Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze, for they have nothing in common with the preceding Early Bronze Age people, nor with the Middle Bronze Age groups who succeeded them about 1900 B.C. Tell el Ajjul is one of the sites which has produced good evidence for the first stage of the Middle Bronze Age, for Petrie's Courtyard Cemetery (actually preceding his 1st Palace and not cut into the courtyard) provides an excellent series of the fine pottery of the period. The first main occupation of the site, together with the 1st Palace, belongs to the second phase of M.B. II about 1650 to 1550 B.C., while a later phase and the 2nd and 3rd Palaces belong to L.B. I, probably lasting until about 1400 B.C. Thereafter a reduced occupation, probably centring on forts or blockhouses, lasts to about 1200 B.C.

Mackay gives a detailed and interesting account of the 1938 excavations. There are two main defects in this report. The first is that there is no means of joining the plans of the phases on to those of the preceding report. The last general plan published is in *Ancient Gaza* III. The site-plan in *Ancient Gaza* IV can be rather shakily joined on to one in *Ancient Gaza* I. It can be inferred that the plans in *Ancient Gaza* V are of an area adjacent to that in IV by a street line, but not even an approximate position on the site-plan can be worked out, since the plans in IV lack the points of the compass. The Arab propensity for digging up all survey points is always a most tiresome complication, but it is unfortunate that more was not done to establish the position of the 1938 buildings on the site-plan. The second defect is that the dating evidence for the buildings is not given. It can probably be worked out approximately by comparing the find spots (recorded in inches above sea-level) with the details given (in inches with reference to the 954-in. zero) of the floors and walls, but this is a laborious process, and should not have been necessary. But at least the information is mostly there, which is more than can be said of many Near Eastern publications.

K. M. KENYON

Enkomi-Alasia: nouvelles missions en Chypre, 1946-1950. Par CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER, avec une note préliminaire de M. RENÉ DUSSAUD, et des contributions de MM. H. J. PLENDERLEITH et O. MASSON. French Archaeological Mission and Cyprus Government Joint Expedition to Enkomi, Tome 1. 10½ × 8½. Pp. ix + 448 + pls. 116. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952. Fr. 10350.

There can be few countries of which the antiquities are so familiar to us as are those of Cyprus. From the time of Cesnola its soil has been ransacked by tomb-robbers, its major sites have been excavated by scientific missions, and the shelves of innumerable museums have been stacked with Cypriote objects; with the relatively recent discovery of the island's Stone Age it might have been thought that the record was complete and that there was no historical justification for further field work. That this was not the case Dr. Schaeffer has triumphantly proved, and his book sets forth material as novel as it is important.

It is broadly true that hitherto all scientific exploration in Cyprus has been concentrated on the tombs. These are, of course, vastly more productive of objects than are any building sites, but the disadvantage of them is that they are not in any way stratified and the historical sequence of the objects can be established only on internal evidence and therefore must always remain to some extent subjective and disputable; moreover, the evidence of tomb furniture does not by any means cover the whole field and is necessarily limited in its bearing on the conditions of human life and economics. While therefore there had been established a chronology of Cypriote pottery and bronzes which in its broad outlines at least was generally accepted, the very fact of its establishment tended to obscure our real ignorance of Cypriote social history.

The already well-worked site of Enkomi might have seemed unlikely to yield new material; but it is there that Dr. Schaeffer detected and, in collaboration with the Antiquities Department of the Cyprus Government, has excavated, for the first time, city buildings of the fourteenth to eleventh centuries B.C. In an introductory note M. Dussaud argues, in my opinion conclusively, that this city is the ancient Alasia, mentioned in the Tell el Amarna letters, and if we had no more than this identification the discovery would yet have been of great importance; but Dr. Schaeffer goes much farther. A very large building, admirably constructed with walls of massive ashlar masonry and associated with a peculiarly rich tomb found by the Swedish Mission, must be the palace of the local chief; it can be dated to the latter part of the Mycenaean period, between 1350 and 1250 B.C.; the family that occupied it was of foreign origin, as is shown by the contents of the tomb, and the conclusion to be drawn is that palace and tomb are those of one of the Achaean aristocrats who had conquered Cyprus. For this main contention Dr. Schaeffer makes out a case which really cannot be gainsaid; he may be on more doubtful ground when he suggests that Cyprus is therefore the 'land of the Ahhiyawa' of the Bogazköy texts, though the island may well be included in that phrase, but the conjecture is worth putting forward as an independent thesis which does not affect the main issue. The archaeological evidence makes quite certain the arrival of Achaean invaders; it implies also that they in their turn were conquered by new-comers, witnessed by Mycenaean pottery of the 'close style', whom Schaeffer would identify as other Achaeans from the Dodecanese (though perhaps there might be a simpler explanation of the change in pottery fashions), and these again were violently expelled or destroyed by a third invasion, that of one of the tribes of the Peoples of the Sea, distinguished by their use of the 'debased Levanto-Helladic' pottery and by the introduction of iron. The stratification of the upper levels illustrates the vicissitudes through which the town passed—flood and earthquake—during the next century or so, up to its final destruction and desertion about 1050 B.C.

It is to this last stage in the town's history that must be assigned the remarkable bronze statuettes published in this volume, and their date makes yet more interesting the Syrian parallels

cited by Dr. Schaeffer. Still more important is the magnificent cup of silver decorated with gold and niello found in the very rich tomb 2 which, with its mixture of Mycenaean, Base-ring, and White Slip pottery, must belong to the period between 1450 and 1350 B.C. and therefore antedates the incoming of the Achaeans; it is surely the finest single object hitherto discovered in Cyprus and its shape, that of the local 'milk-bowl', justifies the finder in regarding it as of Cypriot manufacture.

Results so important as those obtained by the expedition merit the fullest publication, and Dr. Schaeffer has indeed enshrined them in a most handsome volume. But one criticism is, I think, called for. This is only the first volume, the excavation being still in progress, and its cost is terribly heavy; the complete work will be far beyond the means of the ordinary scholar. One must do justice to one's material, but one must also temper the wind to the now very closely shorn lamb; and certain economies could easily have been made. Quite a number of the photographs published really serve no scientific end—and the cost of reproducing photographs is great. Moreover, there is a great deal of unnecessary detail, for instance, most of that on pp. 250–98 could have been summarized in a fifth of the space; instead, we are given a complete fair copy of the very elaborate field notes. We all know that Dr. Schaeffer is a very skilful and scrupulous digger; we may not always follow his theories, but we are always ready to accept his statements of fact, and there is only too much here printed at length which we should gladly have taken upon trust. Incidentally, the catalogue of tomb objects, pp. 161–200, could by the use of type drawings and by shortened descriptions have been much reduced in length and made more readily intelligible, and if printed in small type would have cost less than half to produce.

I have felt obliged, in the general interest, to cavil at the price of this fine volume; but nothing can detract from its importance. Dr. Schaeffer is to be congratulated on the addition he has made to our knowledge of the history and of the art of Cyprus.

LEONARD WOOLLEY

Kharga Oasis in Prehistory. By G. CATON-THOMPSON, F.B.A., with a physiographic introduction by E. W. GARDNER, M.A. 12 × 9½. Pp. xx + 213 + 128 pls. University of London, the Athlone Press, 1952. 70s.

In this impressive volume G. Caton-Thompson presents her analysis of observations and material collected in Kharga Oasis. The physiographical setting is discussed by E. W. Gardner and is followed by suggested correlations with other areas. The industries range from an Upper Acheulian through Levalloisian assemblages to Microlithic and Neolithic. In this succession a passage is observed from Acheulian to Levalloisian, from this to the Khargan, and possibly from the Aterian to the later Egyptian Neolithic and early Predynastic, as suggested by the bifacial foliates.

Miss Caton-Thompson adds to her notable record of detailed typological discussions by giving an analysis of the Upper Acheulian of the extinct artesian spring KO₁₀. This study is the first for some time dealing with an Acheulian site and should stimulate comparison with other areas. It differs from the similar industry of Mount Carmel in the scarcity of flake implements.

A laudable attempt is made to classify hand-axes according to shape. Though her twelve terms are limited to Kharga Oasis, they can be supplemented and a general classification developed. Tables are given of raw materials, shapes, amount of flaking, sizes, cross-sections, and condition of preservation. The twisted ovate is not represented, and the ordinary ovate is scarce. It is interesting to note that cleavers are very rare, although this is a type common in the tropical African and Indian Acheulian. Even in north-west Africa it is more frequent than in Kharga. This may have something to do with the comparatively treeless environment of Kharga, for the cleaver appears to have been used for cutting down trees.

Another item of general interest is the description of a kind of natural glaze found on many

tools from the mound springs. Similar glazes occur on artifacts from thermal springs in Algeria, such as Lake Karar and Puits de Chachaas, Tebessa. The reviewer considers a chemical change as the most likely of the three possible causes suggested by the author.

The Levalloisian of Kharga agrees with the European in being based on well-made 'tortoise-cores' of varying shapes and having flakes with little retouch, except in the late phases which assume a somewhat mousterioid character. The earliest Levalloisian resembles typologically the industry of the 3-4 m. Nile Terrace. The Khargan (formerly Pre-Sebilian), a derivative of the local Upper Levalloisian, is for the first time described in detail. It is a diminutive industry with curiously steep retouch and clearly shown to be derived from the Levalloisian complex. Together with the Aterian it lies near the end of the Palaeolithic succession. The Aterian is an intrusive industry, but in due course it gave rise to the Egyptian Neolithic and early Predynastic industries making bifacial tools. The 'Bedouin Microlithic' which follows is almost exclusively found on the surface only. It is unlike the microlithic industry of Early Khartoum and also of Sebilian III and the Capsian.

It is impossible in a brief review to recount all the important observations made by the author. In general, and in particular in the chapters on the post-Levalloisian industries, the dependence of prehistoric man on the conditions of the environment is skilfully demonstrated. The environmental conditions are deduced from evidence provided by tufas, mound springs, and wadi terraces. In the first place they provide a relative chronology for the various industries up to the Khargan and in the second tempting material for experiments in correlation with other areas. The scheme of two major pluvials previously put forward is explained in detail, though with the comment that such interpretation is 'still a daring venture of uncertain value'. Much depends on the correct interpretation of gravel beds formed in arid zones, and similarly on the meaning of the fluctuations in the activities of the springs. Several divergent views can be held on these subjects, and for this reason the correlations put forward should be regarded with the reserve that Miss Caton-Thompson herself displays.

The book is excellently produced, and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired. If there is anything to criticize, it is the bulk of the book. The large format, which has been so popular for many archaeological publications, is inconvenient in modern libraries. The number of plates might have been reduced by placing larger numbers of specimens on one plate, which would have made comparison easier. Incidentally, it would have reduced the cost of making lantern-slides, which would be an advantage to the archaeological teacher who, to a large extent, is dependent upon this method of illustrating specimens.

This work, though dealing with a very restricted area, is of such value for the general prehistorian that it should be available in all the larger libraries.

F. E. ZEUNER

Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art. By the ABBÉ H. BREUIL. Trans. by MISS MARY E. BOYLE. Realized by FERNAND WINDELS. 12 × 9½. Pp. 419 + 530 illustrations. Montignac, Dordogne: Centre d'études et de documentation préhistoriques, 1952.

It was only natural that Monsieur Fernand Windels, who so successfully produced the beautifully illustrated volume on the painted cave of Lascaux, should seek to promote further undertakings of a similar nature. Now the Abbé Breuil has long had on hand material from a number of very important cave sites meriting publication in the same manner as *Font de Gaume* or *La Région cantabrique* which appeared long ago as volumes in the late Prince of Monaco's series. But nowadays complete detailed scientific description of a palaeolithic decorated cave—even of such a one as the 'Trois Frères'—is difficult from the financial point of view. The interested public demand that a work on palaeolithic cave art shall be correct and scientific, but more general and all-embracing in character, with lots of illustrations from a number of sites, and without the

many details interesting only to the specialists in the subject. The magnificent new volume under review—the result of happy collaboration of the Abbé with M. Windels— exactly fills this bill; and it is to be hoped that it will sell even better than did the Lascaux one so that the profits may be devoted to the critical detailed publication of the 'Trois Frères' which is nearly ready for the press.

But having said that the interested public will appreciate *Quatre cents siècles d'art pariétal* it must not be thought that this is just a popular work. The 45 pages of introduction, in which the author discusses questions of history, preservation, origins, chronology, and evolution, are a model of their kind and give the background for the cave-by-cave descriptions and wealth of illustrations which follow with reproductions of the best paintings and engravings to be seen at a large number of places, each being introduced by a short account of the site, its discovery, investigation, and position.

After describing the six finest cave sites (*Les six géants*) of France and Spain the rest are dealt with district by district. These include a number of little-known localities in the Ardèche found recently by the Abbé Glory, as well as some in the Pyrenees which are not often visited, such as Ussat. The paintings from a recently discovered gallery at Bédouilhac also appear, and this is particularly important as these have now practically disappeared as a result of weathering processes affecting them and eroding the walls as soon as the entrance to the gallery was unblocked. Examples of palaeolithic art from the Dordogne and the Lot are of course not forgotten, as well as from the Gironde, the Charente, the Vienne, including the site at Angles-sur-Anglin, and the Yonne. We then move to the Cantabrian region of north Spain, and the volume concludes with two cave sites in Italy. Many of the illustrations from the last two regions are not well known except to specialists.

The beautiful reproductions are of the standard M. Windels has led us to expect from him, and the only detail of production that one can regret is that, though of course the figures are numbered and have descriptive legends, these numbers are not referred to in the text and the reader is therefore compelled to rely on his own judgement in relating them. Throughout the text one feels the note of authority with which the Abbé treats the subject which has been his life's work. No other man knows the caves as he does—and as prehistorians we are very fortunate that in *Quatre cents siècles d'art pariétal* he has given us, not unwittingly I think, the résumé and conclusions which this devotion of a lifetime entitles him to do. Characteristically and with the sensibility of his countrymen he has not forgotten his pioneer predecessors—'ceux, mes maîtres et amis, qui m'ont ... associé à leurs découvertes'—and as one who knew them all personally one is charmed to find a cave-mouth photograph at Tuc d'Audoubert with Cartailhac, the Count Bégouën and the trois frères, and Breuil himself as a young man in 1912 in the foreground included as an impressive double-page picture.

This whole magnificent volume will be of infinite use to all specialists or amateurs who are interested in the fascinating study of prehistoric cave paintings and engravings. But has not its title perhaps exaggerated their age?

M. C. BURKITT

Danske Oldsager, III. Ældre Bronzealder. By H. C. BROHOLM. 12½ × 9½. Pp. 40 (Danish), 25 (English) + 50 plates. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel: Nordisk Forlag, 1952. Danish Kr. 20.

Volume iii of this magnificent conspectus of the types of Danish prehistoric relics corresponds to half of volume ii of its prototype, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, edited by Sophus Müller in 1891. For just as the Stone Age material then compressible into one volume has now expanded to fill two, so the Bronze Age relics are to be divided between two volumes according to the division into two major periods, outlined by Worsaae in 1859 and followed in the *Ordning*. In

that under review the Older Bronze Age is represented by 257 types as against 170 in 1891. This increase is not due so much to the discovery of whole new assemblages of new types, as was the case with the Stone Age; though some startling novelties have come to light in the interval, most of the distinctive recurrent types had been figured in the older atlas and indeed by Worsaae. The expansion is due, on the one hand, to the inclusion of imports, like the 'British' palstave from Frojk (no. 103), and of unica like the fragmentary 'scimitar' from Syv (no. 75) (which by January 1953 is no longer unique in Denmark!) that do not constitute type-fossils or integral traits of the native culture of the period, but illustrate the country's foreign relations or the originality of its craftsmen. On the other hand, refinement of typology has led to the appreciation of superficially small differences, splitting up into significant varieties what had once seemed a single abstract type—a process illustrated in the cognate province of Schleswig-Holstein by comparing the works of Splieth and Kersten.

Such discrimination has made possible a finer periodization of the Bronze Age. In 1891 Müller recognized only the two periods, identified by Worsaae, rejecting the classic division of the northern Bronze Age into six periods by Montelius, outlined already in 1885. In 1909 Müller had replaced the latter's scheme by a division into nine groups, but Broholm here reverts to Montelius's scheme with certain modifications that he has defended at length in his great work *Danmarks Bronzealder*, 1943-9. Part of Montelius I was made up of halberds, flat-celts, pins, lock-rings, and other metal objects imported ready-made from the British Isles or central Europe. These belong to the Stone Age of Denmark and have already been described in vol. ii in connexion with other relics of the Late, Middle, and even Early Neolithic. The rest—a few shaft-hole axes, spear-heads, celts, and dirks of distinctive form and ornamentation (style I), defining what Kersten calls Bronze Age IB—were certainly made in the north, albeit in imitation of imported models, and are represented in twenty-three Danish graves. But the latter are admittedly contemporary with classically Late Neolithic burials in stone cists; no women's graves contain metal gear, and locally made feminine ornaments are unknown. Indeed these oldest home-made northern metal weapons were actually copied locally in stone in the splendid flint technique distinctive of the Dagger Period. To Broholm such northern bronzes do not qualify for a place in the northern Bronze Age, but constitute a preface to that entitled 'Our First Metal Culture'.

Broholm's Period I, then, corresponds to Sophus Müller's Group 2, carved out of Montelius's Period II, which Kersten terms Bronze Age IIA. In Denmark it is defined by 34 men's and 17 women's graves and 2 hoards together with strays dated stylistically. It includes, somewhat surprisingly, not only high-flanged celts, bound with wire or in no. 33 with a cast imitation of this binding, but also one socketed celt (no. 34, placed here on the strength of its decoration in style I) and even the distinctively northern type of palstave represented in the second hoard of Valsømagle. Similarly in the decoration we have not only the predominantly rectilinear style I, but also concentric circles, pulley-patterns, and a true running spiral net (represented, for instance, on the flanged axe no. 32 that is typologically earlier than the socketed celt, no. 34). And, of course, in Schleswig the Liesbüttel grave with its Middle Bronze Age British spear-head should belong here.

It might be questioned whether Broholm's nomenclature makes for clarity. On the principle that an assemblage should be dated by the latest element in it, the Bronze Age should begin in any area as soon as that metal was being worked locally and wrought into recognizable local types, though the new material would not, of course, at once replace the old. So in Denmark 'Our First Metal Culture' should be Bronze Age I. Otherwise in Italy the Villanova culture would have to be Bronze Age! Yet Montelius and his disciples themselves were not consistent; for Bronze Age I admittedly falls within Late Neolithic. To call the whole Dagger Period 'Bronze Age' would be absurd, but as yet the finds from it are not such as to allow a firm line to

be drawn across it (between Cist Period B and C) after which the Bronze Age should begin. Indeed one could have wished that the editors of *Danske Oldsager* had had the courage to discard the scaffolding constructed by their illustrious predecessor, Thomson. As such, his Three Ages were indispensable. But now it is possible in Denmark, as perhaps nowhere else, to divide the whole of prehistory from Bromme on into a single series of periods, numbered consecutively and undistorted by superfluous technological adjectives. The terminological inconsistencies in this and the first volume would thus automatically disappear: 'Our First Metal Culture' becomes just types current in 'Danish Period VI', while 'mesolithic' core-axes with special edge treatment would be happily classified with 'neolithic' thin-butted axes in 'Danish Period IV'.

For the rest Montelius's system is followed throughout. The descriptions of all types are fully translated into English. Details not repeated such as the find-spot, publications, and number of specimens can easily be read off in the Danish text without a knowledge of the language. The volume, like its companions, is indispensable in any archaeological library and an invaluable tool for research.

V. GORDON CHILDE

Die Beusterburg: ein jungsteinzeitliches Erdwerk in Niedersachsen. By K. TACKENBERG. 12½ × 9½. Pp. vii + 47. Hildesheim: August Lax, 1951.

The west German neolithic culture of Michelsberg, with its main concentration of known sites in the Middle Rhine, has recently been recognized to have spread northwards to the Elbe, and on the Beusterburg, near Hildesheim, a large earthwork enclosure, recorded many years ago by Schuchhardt, has now been shown by excavation to be a Michelsberg construction. A trial dig by Professor Uhl had yielded sherds which suggested a neolithic or Early Bronze Age date for the earthwork, and this was followed up by an extensive campaign spread over four seasons from 1933: unsuitable weather conditions and a subsoil of most unpleasant weathered rock made the detection of natural and artificial layers difficult, but these were eventually worked out. Finds were relatively few and unspectacular, but sufficient for important conclusions to be drawn.

The site consisted of an earthwork enclosing a roughly pear-shaped area some 600 by 400 m. across and consisting in its original form of an outer bank, with a discontinuous or 'causewayed' quarry ditch inside, and within this again a timber palisade backed by an earth ramp, all of Michelsberg construction. It is uncertain whether the secondary, Schnurkeramik, occupation in late neolithic times represents the adoption of the earthwork as a functioning concern by the newcomers or whether it was deserted and perhaps ruined: at a subsequent undated period, probably either during Roman times or in the dark ages, the site was refortified by clearing out the ditch and throwing up a rampart enlargement over the remains of the inner palisaded work.

The Michelsberg sherds found in association with the earthwork include fragments of the characteristic baking-plates, and to the Schnurkeramik phase is attributed a hoard of ten large flint flakes or knives, evidently imported to the site and associated by Tackenberg with the general flint trade of the period, including that of Grand Pressigny. The scarcity of occupation material directly associated with the earthwork was noteworthy, and was borne out by extensive trenching within the area, where no trace of habitations was discoverable, and by a series of phosphate tests made across the site in various directions, which were similarly negative for any indication of permanent occupation.

These facts, taken together with the plan and type of the earthwork—the outer bank with internal ditch, and the presence of frequent causeways, up to 35 m. across and with no traces of permanent gates upon them—leads the author to a general discussion of the function of the Michelsberg 'causewayed camps', such as those of Urmitz, Mayen, the Goldberg, and the type

site itself, and a more recently recognized site of the Hutberg, near Merseburg. Whatever may be said of such sites as Michelsberg itself, with its 80-odd huts and burials within the earthwork, Tackenberg feels that one must also reckon with large earthwork enclosures with interrupted ditches which could only have been used as cattle enclosures, intermittently and probably seasonally occupied. (Incidentally, there is no evidence for the ditch at Michelsberg being interrupted except at the one entrance identified on the south.) In this interpretation he turns to the English evidence from the 'causewayed camps' of Sussex and Wessex for confirmation, and notes how Crawford in 1933 drew attention to modern ethnographic parallels from Morocco. This new Michelsberg evidence will be of great interest to British archaeologists, and it raises once again the unresolved problem of the precise relationship between the similar enclosures in the two cultures of Michelsberg and of Windmill Hill. A common origin within the Western Neolithic group seems inevitable, and as so often in such inquiries, field-work in northern France and Belgium seems the only hope. The presence of the pottery baking-plate of Michelsberg type in French neolithic sites from the Camp de Chassey to Fort Harrouard, Catenoy, and Campigny, shows relationships which are also implied in many of the antler types and probably in flint-mining techniques as well, and homogeneity is likely to have existed as a result of underlying traditions surviving from Mesolithic Forest Cultures over the same region. Within this same area, too, earthwork enclosures of the Windmill Hill-Beusterburg type must surely exist. A careful study of the available air-photographs of the relevant areas, followed by field-work, should produce the required evidence.

STUART PIGGOTT

Urgeschichte der Menschheit. Einführung in die Abstammungs- und Kulturgeschichte des Menschen. Von RUDOLF GRAHMANN. 9 x 6. Pp. 311. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer-Verlag, 1952. DM. 16.40.

The author's intention in writing the book has been to fill an awkward gap in German archaeological and anthropological literature. For some considerable time no comprehensive publication has appeared which relates to the more recent results obtained in human palaeontology and prehistory. It is not addressed to the expert, but intended to spread the knowledge of early man among the educated public. In this respect the author has succeeded admirably, for his book is clearly written and intelligible to a reader with some natural history background. Among the introductory subjects treated are the history of the earth and the climatic fluctuations of the Pleistocene as well as geochronology. Work in the field has brought Grahmann to the conclusion that the Milankovitch chronology provides an adequate basis for dating of the Pleistocene and of early man. The body of the book consists of an extensive chapter on human palaeontology, followed by one on Stone Age typology. In the concluding chapter the cultural history of man and his position in the universe are discussed.

The book will be useful for the English reader when it comes to the translation of technical terms, an awkward matter with which all workers are familiar who have to compare sites published in different languages. Grahmann, however, is not always right in his interpretation. It is no longer advisable to consider the term *biface* (*Doppelseiter*) simply as a synonym of handaxe. There are other minor faults which show that the author had to conquer the field of knowledge whilst writing the book. The Pindal elephant is still described as a mammoth in spite of its evidently *antiquus*-like features. The radiocarbon method is briefly mentioned and considered as applicable over a period of about 25,000 years with an error of about 5 per cent. This statement gives a false impression of the accuracy of the method. The serious reader will miss an ample bibliography. Special literature is not mentioned, and the number of titles of publications regarded as suitable to introduce the reader to the subject is only fifty-three.

F. E. ZEUNER

Ard and Plough in Prehistoric Scandinavia. By P. V. GLOB, D.Phil. 12 x 8½. Pp. 137, Aarhus University Press, 1951.

This important book gives us for the first time an adequate account of the wealth of the prehistoric plough material discovered in Scandinavia. In no other region have so many early ploughs been preserved. In all, Professor Glob deals with fifteen ards or parts of ards mostly datable to either the Late Bronze Age or the Early Iron Age, a score of wooden shares from similar implements, parts of three early wheel ploughs, and a number of iron shares. The greater part of the book is devoted to a detailed and particularly well illustrated account of this material.

Other important evidence for early agriculture dealt with are the traces of furrows discovered beneath burial mounds. The earliest furrow traces, found at Sevel in central Jutland, are in clay soil and, as the author shows, belong to an early date within the final period of the New Stone Age. Of particular interest, too, are others of the Early Bronze Age at Slots Bjergby in Zealand. These are in heavy moraine clay. As Professor Glob points out, these furrows contradict the general belief that only the lighter soils were tilled with the prehistoric ards.

In considering the use of the ard in the Neolithic period, the author reopens the subject of stone plough-shares, the so-called 'shoe-last axes'. By comparing the wear marks on these stone wedges with similar marks on the soles of the crook-ards, Professor Glob proceeds to make the most convincing case to date for their use as ard-shares.

The author's treatment of rock engravings of ploughing scenes at Bohuslän and in the Alpes Maritimes is unusually thorough. Of particular interest is his recognition of representations of tail-yoking in both groups.

The book ends with a section on the ard and ritual in which it is maintained that the implements found in bogs were deposited as offerings after ritual spring ploughing. This argument receives strong support from the condition of the ards themselves. They were all more or less unusable when deposited, being worn-out or defective, or made up with new, unused parts in unsuitable softwood. In passing, one wonders whether traces of some such ritual occur in Britain. One recalls ox-yokes found in Scottish bogs and, in particular, the important specimen of a beam of Donneruplund type taken from a bog in 1870 and now preserved in the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

It should be mentioned that what the title-page modestly describes as an English 'summary' amounts to a translation of the Danish text.

F. G. PAYNE

Vikingetidens Redskaper. By J. PETERSEN. 10½ x 7. Pp. 536, text-figs. 278. Skrifter Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse, No. 4. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1951. Norwegian Krs. 40.

This book, dealing with tools and implements, forms the third and last part in the series of brilliant monographs by Dr. J. Petersen on Viking finds in the Norwegian homeland. Compared with the previous volumes on *Viking Swords* (1919) and *Ornaments* (1928), the present study is wider in scope, including material from the Migration or Merovingian period, A.D. 600-800.

To every student of Viking archaeology and of the Norse penetration of the British Isles in the ninth to tenth centuries A.D. the book is indispensable, providing a carefully annotated source of comparative matter. The material and statistics relate to known finds down to 1942, the vast majority originating in burials, of which over 6,232 are recorded. The material is grouped under nine headings, beginning with equestrian harness, blacksmiths' tools, agricultural implements, carpenters' tools, fishing-gear, implements used in spinning and weaving, kitchen utensils, fragments of chests and boxes, including hinges, hasps, locks, and keys. The final section deals with personal effects such as combs, tweezers, belt clasps, and buttons.

The bridle-bit is the commonest item of equestrian harness found in Norway. Two main

types are recognized. The first is the simple bar or linked mouthpiece type with cheek rings characteristic of the Merovingian period but persisting into later times. The second has the bar cheek-piece and appears early in the Viking period (ninth century), more particularly in the western coastal districts, where it is associated in certain burials with finds of Celtic origin. The stirrup, rare in ninth-century contexts, is common in the tenth century, the more elaborately decorated examples being related to Danish types which also occur in London and elsewhere. Saddle and sledge harness complete this section.

Blacksmiths' tools include various forging hammers, tongs, anvils, files, chisels, and crucibles. Three principal groups of agricultural implement are defined—sickle and scythe blades, the leaf or pruning knife, and iron celts and picks, the latter no doubt used in land clearance. Carpenters' tools found in male burials include knives, planing irons, adzes, awls, chisels, and saw-blades. The commonest fishing implement in the Viking period is the stone or lead line sinker, well represented in the settlements established in the Scottish islands. Fish-hooks and spears are particularly characteristic of the western coastal districts of Norway.

The various classes of stone, clay, or steatite loomweight identified can be paralleled 'west-over-sea' together with the flat semi-spherical or truncated cone spindle-whorls (erroneously referred to as spinning-wheels in the English summary, p. 523), bone needle-cases, flax combs, glass linen smoothers, needles, and miniature axe-headed pins.

It is of interest to note that the varieties of steatite bowls, handled ladles, and trough-shaped vessels produced in the Norwegian quarries inspired the production of similar kitchen utensils in the Scottish islands, more particularly in Shetland, where extensive outcrops of soapstone or steatite occur. Among personal effects, special importance attaches to the bone combs, of which 122 specimens are listed, ranging from the Merovingian types with point and circle decoration to the later series with interlaced ribbon patterns arranged in medial bands.

This monumental study, in common with the two preceding volumes, will form the basis of much comparative research, as new finds are revealed not only in the Norwegian homeland but in the British Isles and other Atlantic islands colonized by the Vikings. Type specimens illustrate the text throughout the book, and an English summary is appended. J. R. C. HAMILTON

Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Number Six. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. viii + 251. Harvard University Press, 1951. Price \$7.50.

In a recent article Sir Mortimer Wheeler drew attention to the fact that many of our archaeologists today are essentially grammarians, concerned with the detail of the trees rather than with the true nature of the forest (*Antiquity*, no. 104, Dec. 1952). And of the seven articles in vol. vi of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* five must be classed in this category. All are important so far as they go, but they concern points of detail rather than wider issues, and will prove of interest to very specialized scholars only. Thus Dvornik's 'Emperors, Popes and General Councils' is admittedly only a by-product of research, undertaken with a larger book in view; Grabar's 'Un Médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie' is a republication, in greater detail, of objects found and first published at the end of the last century; Downey's 'The Builder of the Original Church of the Holy Apostles of Constantinople' contributes new information culled from a little-known text; Anastos's 'The Immortality of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia' deals with certain terms connected with the conception of Christ's dual nature, and Vasiliev's 'Hugh Capet of France and Byzantium' furnishes new evidence as to the relationships between the Byzantine world and the West in the tenth century.

Vasiliev's 'The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople' is of wider significance, for it deals with an important event in history which has hitherto remained unrecorded except in some obscure Russian chronicles. This very complete and detailed account will be of great service to all

concerned with the contacts between the Byzantine and Slavonic worlds in the tenth century. E. Kitzinger's 'Studies in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics, Pt. 1. Mosaics at Nikopolis' is not just the publication of a little-known mosaic, but is part of an extensive survey which will deal with the floor mosaics of the fourth and fifth centuries as a whole. In no field was a general investigation or stocktaking more essential. Some of the pavements have, it is true, been very fully published, such as those of Antioch or the Great Palace of Constantinople, but even so, these publications have been of a limited character, and others, on the other hand, have been very inadequately dealt with by their investigators. Those at Nikopolis, which form the subject of Dr. Kitzinger's first article, are notable in this respect. It is a pity that the Greeks were not able or willing to provide good photographs; it is high time that they should learn that when important discoveries are made it is a sacred duty to assure adequate publication rather than to rush into the pursuit of further hares (or rabbits) underground. Dr. Kitzinger's task has not been simplified in this respect, but his text is admirable, and its continuation will be eagerly awaited. At the moment his subject is one that is at the very forefront of archaeological and art-historical study concerned with all that was done in the first millennium of the Christian era.

D. TALBOT RICE

The Byzantine Institute. The Mosaics of Haghia Sophia at Istanbul. Fourth Preliminary Report. Work done in 1934-8. *The Deesis Panel in the South Gallery*. By THOMAS WHITTEMORE. Pp. 50 + 36 plates in collotype and one in colour. Printed by Charles Batey, Oxford University Press, for the Byzantine Institute, Inc., Boston, 1952.

Volume iv of the preliminary reports on the mosaics of St. Sophia will be heartily welcomed not only by Byzantinists but also by all lovers of art. The Deesis panel, which was uncovered as long ago as 1934, even though it had only been examined by those who had visited Constantinople, had already become famous, and the plates published here, especially the coloured frontispiece of the central figure, serve to affirm its reputation. This is beyond doubt one of the finest, if not, indeed, the very finest, of Byzantine mosaics that have come down to us, and it may be classed, together with the icon known as 'our Lady of Vladimir', as one of the most perfect and most spiritual works ever executed under the patronage of the Christian Church.

The manuscript of this volume was actually completed by Mr. Whittemore before his sudden death in 1950, and it is written in his own very personal style. No man among Western scholars entered more completely into the spirit of Byzantine art, and no writer has succeeded so well in conveying in a few words his understanding of the spiritual basis of that art. One feels grateful, as one reads, that Whittemore was spared to complete this preliminary note on what was his favourite among the St. Sophia mosaics. Its superiority to the other panels he uncovered there, both technically and aesthetically, needs no comment.

As in previous volumes of the reports, the descriptions are detailed, and there seems little that remains to be added in any ultimate final publication on this count. It is, however, likely that some scholars will wish to question the date 'in the early Comnene period' (c. 1100) proposed by Whittemore. He bases his conclusions primarily on the palaeography of the inscriptions accompanying the figures, on the iconographical type of the Baptist, and on the stylistic type of the Virgin, which is close to that of the icon 'our Lady of Vladimir', which was taken from Constantinople to Kiev about 1130. Yet the technique and the character of the mosaic as a whole are closer to the well-known mosaics of Kahrieh Camii, dated 1310-20, than to any other known monuments, and the whole spirit of the Deesis shows an intimacy, delicacy, and humanism which savours unquestionably of the Byzantine Renaissance, of which the Kahrieh mosaics are one of the most outstanding monuments. On the basis of comparisons with Kahrieh a date between 1280 and 1300 would seem most likely. As short a time ago as about 1925 it would

have been held that the Renaissance was essentially a manifestation of the Palaeologue age. Today, however, the discovery of such paintings as those at Nerez, dated 1164, show that the Renaissance was already well established by the middle of the twelfth century, and it is not at all impossible that a mosaic as advanced as the St. Sophia Deesis should have been set up in the first half of the century. The evidence is thus reduced to the technical and stylistic similarities with the Kahrieh mosaics on the one hand, and to similarities with the icon, 'our Lady of Vladimir', and to palaeographical evidence on the other, for the iconographical evidence set forth by Whittemore does not go much farther than indicate that a twelfth-century date is not impossible. External evidence—indications as to early repairs and so forth—does not give much help towards dating. A very good case could indeed be made out for a date slightly earlier than that of the Kahrieh mosaics, and Whittemore might have said a great deal more in support of such a conclusion. Yet there is something of a completely intangible character about the Deesis panel that does suggest a twelfth-century date, and to the reviewer at least such a date seems likely, even if it were in the second rather than the first half of the century. Scholars will no doubt dispute this problem for some years to come. What Whittemore does make clear, however, is that a twelfth-century date is not impossible.

The report, though brief, thoroughly fulfils its purpose. It is beautifully produced, and the descriptions are as complete as need be. The coloured plate of Christ is undoubtedly a success, and serves to show the superb quality of the mosaic, both technically and as a work of art.

D. TALBOT RICE

Gli Scavi di Albintimilium e la Cronologia della Ceramica Romana, I, Campagne di Scavo 1938-1940 (Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri: Collezione di Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche, 11). By NINO LAMBOGLIA. 11 x 7½. Pp. 201 + 8 pls., with 119 figs. in text. Bordighera, 1950. Lire 3,200.

This is a publication of quite exceptional importance, not so much for what it contains (although there is much in it that is most valuable) as for the promise it gives for the future. To archaeologists trained in harder, northern schools, it is a constant source of wonder and exasperation to find that, in many parts of the Mediterranean world, the aims and methods of excavation are still substantially those of the nineteenth century; and although it would be unreasonable to expect the same rigorous standards from a great topographical clearance-scheme, such as that of Pompeii or of Ostia, as one would from the excavation of a Bronze Age barrow, the fact remains that 'clearance' is the proper term for these enterprises rather than 'excavation', at any rate as we understand the word. At Pompeii, where the problem is one of disinterment and consolidation, clearance is the proper method. Elsewhere, on sites that have had a complex structural history, the results can at times only be described as catastrophic; and, in almost all cases, the proper answer would be a judicious mixture of both methods. Until there is a more general appreciation of this fact, and a more widespread understanding that stratigraphy implies something more subtle than the superimposition of one structure upon another, we shall continue to be faced with such ridiculous situations as the dating of Arretine pottery (with all that it implies to the modern excavator) on the basis of work done, not in Italy, where it was made, but in the Rhineland.

The answer to this state of affairs must come from the scholars of the countries directly concerned; and there are welcome signs that in Italy, as elsewhere, it is on the way. This book, following closely on Bernabò Brea's publication of the excavations in the cave of Arene Candide, is one of the first-fruits of a revolution in archaeological method that promises to be no less important than that initiated by Pitt-Rivers in our own country seventy years ago. The excavations that it records were undertaken between 1938 and 1940 at the intersection of two of the main streets of Albintimilium (the Roman predecessor of Ventimiglia). Topographically, its most important

result was to confirm the regularity of the plan of the Roman city, which was laid out about a rectangular grid of streets and contained within a strictly rectangular circuit of walls, after the manner of Aosta or Turin; and, from the abundant pottery found in association with the earliest levels, its foundation can now be ascribed to the years immediately following the granting of *ius Latii* in 90-89 B.C. This useful result is, however, eclipsed by the fact, unprecedented in the archaeology of classical Italy, that the author was not only able to disentangle the complex later history of the site (down to its destruction and abandonment in the early fifth century, after a reconstruction in the late third century, as a result of which one of the streets passed into private ownership), but has documented his conclusions in full, discussing and illustrating in section the successive structures and their associated levels, and more than 2,000 selected objects, mainly sherds, found in these stratified deposits.

The pottery described, illustrated, and classified includes six distinct groups of black-glazed or brown-glazed 'Campanian' wares (see further the author's classification in *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri*, pp. 139-206); late Iberian wares; Arretine and South Gaulish terra sigillata; various thin-walled wares, with barbotine or roulette ornament (a particularly welcome series); and coarse pottery ranging from the first century down to late antiquity.

There are a number of criticisms of detail that could be made. The general plan is almost illegible; the scales of the pottery-drawings are nowhere indicated; some of the sections only make sense if one can assume that there were foundation trenches that are not shown. But it would be ungracious to dwell upon points of detail when, in purpose and method, the author has taken such a notable step forward. May his example bear fruit.

J. B. WARD PERKINS

La Tombe gallo-romaine: recherches sur les inscriptions et les monuments funéraires gallo-romains des trois premiers siècles de notre ère. By J.-J. HATT. 10 x 6½. Pp. xii + 329. 8 plates, 11 distribution-maps, and 3 diagrams. Paris (Presses Universitaires de France), 1951. Fr. 2000.

This is a fascinating, if somewhat tantalizing, book, in which three major facets of Roman Gaul are acutely, but each incompletely, investigated. Its main theme, the tomb, is excellently treated from the angles of epigraphy, cult of the dead, architecture, and sculpture. But all matters pertaining to the arrangement and furnishing of the burial-place itself have been explicitly excluded and the after-life beliefs and expectations of the Gallo-Romans, as their monuments reveal them, set aside for a future work (pp. x, xi). The author has greatly enriched our knowledge of the social and economic structure of the Gallic provinces by an exhaustive analysis of the personal names recorded on grave-stelai and sarcophagi. He traces, both regionally and chronologically, the interplay of Celtic, Italian, and Graeco-Oriental elements in the population, bringing out such significant factors as the townward drift of rural communities in the 'industrial revolution' of the second century, and the marked 'Celtic revival' in mountainous and other isolated districts during the troubles of the later Empire. Yet we are left wondering how far these general conclusions would have been reinforced or modified had account been taken of other classes of epigraphical evidence—of votive inscriptions, for instance, and, above all, of honorific and building inscriptions. These last might be expected to throw much valuable light upon the upper strata of society, whose costly and pretentious tombs have suffered far more severely from the ravages of time than have their *petit-bourgeois*, proletarian, and rustic counterparts. In the third place, the author's shrewd and sympathetic judgements on the style and spirit of the Gallo-Roman tomb-reliefs are admirable. His is the first serious effort to extract, from the rich materials made available by Espérandieu and his successors, an intelligible picture of the rise, evolution, diffusion, and distinctive characteristics of the various local schools of stone-carving in Gaul during the first three centuries. But here again his deductions as to chronology

and the interpenetration of native and external artistic influences have still to be tested by reference to other types of sculpture—non-funerary religious reliefs, relief-sculptures and ornament on public buildings, and official statuary, secular and religious. And while the author draws frequent and apt analogies between the tomb-reliefs and decorated Gallo-Roman pottery, we miss all reference to such other certainly provincial products as mosaic pavements and votive terracottas and bronzes. Nevertheless, so far as they go, the author's conclusions drawn from the material handled are always well balanced and carefully argued; and they prompt us to hope that the second instalment of *La Tombe romaine* will soon be followed by a full-dress social and economic history of Gaul under Roman rule, based on non-funerary, as well as on funerary, evidence, and by a comprehensive study of all aspects of its art.

From among the many points of detail inviting comment or criticism only a few can be mentioned. On pp. 14–17 printers' errors have credited the Roman army with some hitherto unknown legions. And one wonders why, on pp. 15–17, the author lumps together all the military inscriptions of the second, third, and fourth centuries, instead of sorting them out chronologically according to the *critères* tabulated on p. 19. While we have no reason to doubt the general validity of the impressive name-statistics presented to us in Chapters III and IV, we could wish that the author had, at least sometimes, given us actual figures, as well as percentages, which offer a far less telling picture and can sometimes create a misleading impression. In Chapter VI the author argues cogently (against H. Wuilleumier's 'mystical' interpretation) that the *ascia*-sign should be explained as a straightforward allusion to the rite with which the monuments bearing it had been dedicated. (For a further discussion of this topic see now P.-L. Couchoud and A. Audin, 'L'Ascia instrument et symbole de l'inhumation' (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.* 142, i, 1952, pp. 36 ff.)). The first-century dating, given on p. 113, of three of the Arles sarcophagi (Espérandieu 180, 181, and 186) is too early: the garland-style of 186 is typically Hadrianic and we need not doubt that its inscription with the D. M. formula was contemporary with it. The essentially funerary character of the Julii Monument at Saint-Rémy, as regards both its sculptured reliefs and architectural elements, is convincingly established (pp. 116–21); and later on (pp. 127–31) we are given an ingenious explanation of a feature very conspicuous in these reliefs and frequently found in others from Roman Provence, namely the outlining of the contours of the figures by deeply incised grooves. This feature, occasionally seen on classical Greek and Hellenistic reliefs and employed to some extent in the reliefs of Trajan's Column and of other official monuments, had an enormous vogue in southern Gaul throughout the first century of the Empire; and, in the reviewer's opinion, it is still best understood, with Hübner, as a pictorial device for throwing up the figures so outlined against their background. It may well be the case that Hatt is right in suggesting that the close-set holes, of which these grooves are composed, were drilled down from the surface initially to guide the craftsman when cutting away the background round the contours of his design. If so, this must have been a widely known and obvious process, practised in other schools by carvers who obliterated all traces of it once the relief was roughly executed. The deliberate retention, whether in Provence or elsewhere, of the bottoms of the drill-holes and the linking of them up with chisel-strokes to form a continuous line, would seem to be pointless, unless the *cernes* themselves were held to possess some inherent aesthetic virtue.

Among the author's final conclusions two points can be singled out as of especial interest: the steady prominence in Gaul of religious and artistic influences from the Hellenistic East, and the consolidating, vivifying effect of Romanization on the native Celtic heritage.

The eight plates, not, unfortunately, in all cases correlated with the text, are excellent; and we wish that there were more of them. As it is, some of the best sections of the book can only be properly appreciated in a library with all Espérandieu's volumes piled at one's elbow.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE

The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies 1949. Edited by ERIC BIRLEY. 8½ × 5½. Pp. viii + 137. Durham: University Office, 46 North Bailey, 1952. 8s. post free.

The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies immediately and most appropriately followed the Centenary Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall, and the report now published contains the eleven papers contributed to its sessions. When considered, as they should be, in conjunction with the separate Pilgrimage handbook, these papers form a most valuable and authoritative conspectus of present opinion and knowledge for practically all the major frontiers of the Empire. Their scope is refreshingly wide, four papers on the military aspects of the Rhine *limes*, for instance, being balanced by Professor Alföldi's penetrating study of the moral barrier formed by differences between Roman and barbarian ways of thought, and by Dr. Norling-Christensen's analysis of trade to Denmark through the frontier. Britain is well represented both geographically and in scholarship by Miss Robertson, our Fellow Dr. Nash-Williams, and our Director, writing on the Antonine Wall, Wales, and Mesopotamia respectively. The papers by continental scholars have been translated into English, and the name of our Fellow, Mr. E. B. Birley, as always, is a guarantee of meticulous editorship. When, in his introduction, he looks forward to the discussion of other frontiers at the next Congress in 1954, one hopes that it may provide the opportunity to complete the British scene by a reassessment of the evidence relating to the Saxon shore.

R. GILYARD-BEER

Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and beyond. Essays presented to O. G. S. Crawford. Edited by W. F. GRIMES. 9½ × 7½. Pp. xviii + 386. London: H. W. Edwards, 1951. 50s.

The founder of *Antiquity* and the virtual founder of archaeological air-photography most certainly needs no introduction in the pages of this journal; his name and works are known wherever archaeology is studied or discussed. This *Festschrift*, presented to him by a group of friends and younger colleagues to mark his 65th birthday in 1951, does fitting honour to his achievements and his genius, and the gesture of goodwill which lies behind it will receive the most whole-hearted approval, not only from every living archaeologist, but from the countless ethnologists, geographers, and historians who have learnt to expect guidance from him in their own subjects as well as in archaeology. Internal evidence in some of the papers indicates that the 'difficulties of the post-war years' referred to in the editor's foreword, which have delayed publication, have in fact postponed the gift from his 60th birthday until five years later. Authors have attempted in places to counteract the delay by additional footnotes giving references to relevant material published after their papers were written, but this could not always be done, and it would be unfair to criticize their work for its failure to be fully topical having regard to the delay with which it has had to contend.

Analysis of the contents of the book shows a surprising unbalance in favour of papers dealing with the first four centuries A.D. and the years immediately before and after them. In this group A. J. Arkell on 'Meroe and India' and R. E. M. Wheeler on 'Roman contact with India' lead us far afield and make it abundantly clear that there is much still to be learnt about the effects of Roman trading in distant countries on the borders of the then known world. For Britain, C. E. Stevens has new theories to propound about Roman diplomatic contacts with Britain between the Julian and Claudian invasions, P. Corder and I. A. Richmond shed interesting light on Romano-British homesteads and on signalling stations in Stainmore Pass in the Pennines, A. H. A. Hogg sums up our present knowledge of the culture of the Votadini who lived between Tyne and Forth and were thus the immediate neighbours of the Roman province to the north of Hadrian's Wall, and J. N. L. Myres in an article entitled 'The *Adventus Saxonum*' endeavours to clarify and co-ordinate the conflicting statements in ancient authors about this darkest of dark stories in our island's annals.

In contrast, for the whole of prehistory there are only five papers, and one of these, C. F. C. Hawkes's penetrating study of 'Bronze workers, cauldrons and bucket-animals' in Britain, though it begins in the Iron Age, extends through the Roman period into the dark ages as well. The four others are strictly prehistoric. V. G. Childe discusses 'The balanced sickle' and ranges with his usual breadth of view throughout the Near East, the Mediterranean, and Europe for his argument and his examples. S. Piggott sums up the story of Stonehenge from its origin in neolithic times (bank, ditch, and Aubrey holes) through its grandiose reconstruction under Wessex culture in the Bronze Age to its rededication in Belgic times, as proved by pottery found in the Y and Z holes. The other two papers in this group are E. C. Curwen's on 'Cross-ridge dykes in Sussex' and W. F. Grimes's on 'The Jurassic Way', each of them valuable studies upon which much further work on their subjects is likely to be based in future years.

Balancing the prehistoric group, there is a parallel group of four papers on medieval or later subjects. B. H. St. J. O'Neil describes some important researches on the Southampton Town Wall which he was enabled to make while studying medieval sites in the town laid bare by air-raid devastation. W. Douglas Simpson discusses Glen Urquhart and its Castle in a paper which, though beginning with the story of the glen in prehistoric times, is mainly concerned, as its title indicates, with its medieval and later history as an outpost in the struggle between western and eastern forces in Scotland. The other two papers in this group are on 'folk' remains, the one, by Sir Cyril Fox, treating of 'The round-chimneyed farm-houses of Northern Pembrokeshire', while the other, by E. Estyn Evans, discusses 'Some archaic forms of agricultural transport in Ulster'. Both are essentially characteristic of their authors and it is unnecessary to add that they are masterpieces of their kind.

There remain five contributions which fall into no strict chronological grouping. J. G. D. Clark's study entitled 'Folk-culture and European prehistory' discusses to what extent we may use the primitive present to aid us in deciphering the primitive past, and emphasizes both the uses and abuses which such a comparison can bring forth. This is a paper which must not be missed by any student of archaeology. Two other Cambridge archaeologists also appear in this group. C. W. Phillips describes the past achievements and future prospects of the Fenland Research Committee—a valuable lesson in co-operative research which East Anglia, led by Cambridge, has provided—while J. K. St. Joseph surveys the past and future of archaeological air-photography, a subject which could scarcely fail to find its place in this volume dedicated to that subject's 'founder'. The remaining two articles are Sir Charles Arden-Close's 'Time and Memory'—a study of the transmission of facts and fancies through the ages—and Sir John Myres's revealing biographical study of Crawford himself, which he so aptly entitles 'The Man and his past'.

Altogether we have in this book a collection of papers which are not only good in themselves, but which form a group that by its combined breadth of vision and of subject is fully worthy to stand as a tribute to a scholar who in his own studies (as indicated by the Bibliography with which the volume concludes) has ranged through every period of British archaeology and antiquities, and in not a few foreign fields as well. The Bibliography stops at 1948, an indication of the time this book has taken in gestation. Had it continued to the present day it would have revealed Crawford the historian as well as Crawford the geographer, archaeologist, and ethnographer, by including his two-volume history of the Fung of the Sudan, a truly remarkable sign of its author's versatility and wideness of scholarship.

D. B. HARDEN

The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): *Dorset*, Vol. I. *West*. 10½ × 8¼. Pp. 1 + 334, with 212 plates and 1 folding-map. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1952. 63s.

The Survey and Inventory of West Dorset, the twentieth issued by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, appears after an interval of thirteen years, largely due to the war. The

volume follows the plan already familiar, but is larger and even more lavishly illustrated. There is no apparent deterioration in the form or materials and, when the increase in bulk is considered, the additional cost seems modest by comparison with other rises in price. Two principal changes confront the reader. The first, the result of a variation of the Commission's terms of reference, is the inclusion of monuments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The second, imposed by the character of the area, is the added prominence accorded to prehistoric antiquities.

The extension of the terms of reference allows the Commission to cover, at its discretion, periods subsequent to 1714. For Dorset the terminal date adopted is 1850. No one viewing the splendid series of illustrations in the present volume will doubt the desirability of this extension. The maintenance of parish churches and country houses are now matters of grave concern to all interested in the preservation of our national heritage, and authoritative commissions have recently reported on both these classes of monument. But the reports have yet to be put into effect and, in the meantime, much is in danger. In these circumstances it would be illogical if the Commission's surveys had continued to close at an arbitrary date which excluded many of the more important dwelling-houses and much of the finest English memorial sculpture. Even less important buildings need systematic recording, as may be appreciated from such charming examples as the Congregational Chapel at Lyme Regis (1750-5) and Drayton House, Bridport (c. 1840), to pick two examples at random among those illustrated. The only doubt is whether the wider scope of the survey will unduly retard the work of the Commission. In the present case it has admittedly delayed publication, for the survey of West Dorset on the old basis was largely complete in 1939. In other areas, where the later limit is fixed from the beginning, delay should be less serious and, in any case, it will be offset by the augmented staff allowed since 1946, a fact which we note with pleasure as a recognition of the importance of the work.

In their formal report the Commissioners state that they appointed a Sub-Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 'to assist us in recording the prehistoric monuments of Dorset'. The county presents a problem new in the experience of the Commission. Other areas surveyed have provided examples of a particular class of prehistoric monument—the hill-forts of Herefordshire and the stone-built settlements of the uplands of Westmorland are the most important—but none has yet contained so representative and numerous a series covering the whole range of prehistory. The present volumes list the structures of this period in West Dorset. Though the county as a whole has been the scene of much excavation, little—and none of it recent—has taken place in the west. References to objects found are therefore few. They are confined to a bare mention, such as the burnt burial or the skeleton, beaker and fragments of second beaker, found in barrows recorded in the parish of Bradford Peverell. No detailed description of the objects is given. While it is understandable that the Commissioners should wish to defer such details to a final volume, when the evidence from the county can be surveyed as a whole, we would urge that the survey, which has customarily appeared in the final volume for each county, should include a review of prehistoric Dorset, not less comprehensive than that in the inventory of Anglesey prepared by the Welsh Commission.

Turning to the record of the prehistoric structures, certain comments arise. The neolithic age is represented by a ruined megalithic structure, the 'Grey Mare and her Colts', at Long Bredy, and by a number of unchambered long barrows and 'bank barrows'. The barrows, both the two neolithic types and those of the Bronze Age, are very numerous. They are listed succinctly and factually; their location is described by reference to known points, amplified where necessary by small plans showing the relation of groups. All this is excellent, but the reader not familiar with the latest terminology will look in vain for a definition of the various types. The sectional preface calls attention to long barrows and 'bank barrows' and mentions round barrows and the specialized bell, disc, and pond barrows of the Bronze Age. The term 'bowl barrow', not mentioned in the preface, is also used in the inventory. The glossary, so full and concise in its

definition of architectural and other technical terms, gives no clue to the meaning which the Commissioners attach to these several types of barrow. We would suggest that in future volumes definitions of prehistoric terms should find their place in the glossary.

The treatment of the hill-forts of the Iron Age is admirable. Plans and surface sections are supplemented by air photographs, which bring out the imposing scale of the larger earthworks. The text is conservative and chary of interpretation. Occasionally—Abbotsbury Castle is an example—we are told of successive periods of development revealed by a topographical analysis. More information of this type will probably be forthcoming when it is possible to survey the material from the whole county. Parallel to the hill-forts runs the series of undefended settlements, often associated with cultivation-areas. These are listed in eleven parishes and illustrated by a few plans. The technique used for these plans is not happy. Those on Grimstone Down (Stratton, no. 11) and Black Hill (Cerne Abbas, no. 32) are typical; banks are shown as heavy black lines, scarps by lines of hachures. The result is not pleasing aesthetically and disguises the fact that both banks and scarps are part of the same system. A double row of opposed hachures to show the banks—the method used in the analogous plans of the settlements in Westmorland—would bring out this essential unity and relieve the present heavy appearance of these plans. It should be remarked that these settlements, and the associated field-systems, are among the prehistoric antiquities most threatened by modern agricultural operations. Only a very summary record is published of many of the sites listed in this volume. It would be interesting to know how detailed a record exists in the Commission's files and how fully the available air cover was collated with the ground survey; the recently published article on the Celtic field systems on the Berkshire Downs (*Oxoniensia*, xv, 1–28) proves the value of a careful collation of these two sources in providing a full record of this class of antiquity. While discussing the Iron Age it may be noted that the opening statement of the sectional preface needs revision. Mr. Stevens's recent demonstration that Ilchester was the Roman Lendinae, the tribal capital of the Durotriges Lendinienses (*Proc. Somerset Arch. Soc.* xcvi, 188–92), shows that the tribal boundary of the Durotriges before the division extended well into south Somerset. This is borne out by the distribution of pre-Roman coins and Iron Age C pottery, the characteristic types extending north as far as the marshes on the south side of Mendip.

The ecclesiastical buildings of west Dorset include only one in the highest class, Sherborne Abbey. In addition to the normal record of this church, the preface contains a discussion of the plan of the Saxon Cathedral. This was founded in 705 by St. Aldhelm, but the existing remains belong to the tenth century, probably to a rebuilding when the Benedictine rule was introduced by Bishop Wulfsize in 998. The visible remains consist of part of the west end, including a door into the north aisle. Excavation has disclosed the foundations of a west tower in the centre of the existing west front. It is convincingly argued that the present irregular spacing of the nave arcades, which does not conform to the baying of the fifteenth-century fan vault, is a survival from the Saxon plan. This would also have left its mark in the projecting angles of the central tower, which is wider than the nave. The church was rebuilt in the twelfth century and the nave was then planned with six equal bays; this, it is argued, was never carried out owing to the fall of Bishop Roger of Salisbury in 1139. The hypothesis here set forward explains the known facts and accounts for the irregularities of the plan. If accepted—and in our opinion it must be accepted—it gives us an example of the scale and layout of a major church of the late Saxon period, that of the only cathedral known to us in the heart of Wessex. The other two great Benedictine houses, Abbotsbury and Cerne, have left few remains, but large parts of the Cistercian abbey of Forde survive incorporated in a great post-Reformation house. Saxon sculpture is represented by a number of scattered fragments, of which the most attractive is the portion of a round cross shaft, now reversed and used as the font at Melbury Bubb. Later medieval churches include a fine series with Perpendicular work using the easily available stone from the Ham Hill quarries. The

rebuilding of Sherborne abbey church (c. 1500) is the finest example of this period, which also saw the erection of many charming buildings such as the chapel of St. Catherine at Abbotsbury.

Outstanding among the medieval secular buildings is the old castle at Sherborne, a monument to the power and ambition of Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1107-39). The central block, with four ranges surrounding an inner courtyard and incorporating the keep, is rightly signalled in the preface as being 'amongst the most important examples of military-domestic work in this country'. An unusual type of small house of the fifteenth century is illustrated by comparative plans. The most complete is the Queen's Arms at Charmouth. These houses are rectangular, of two stories and, in three cases, with diagonal buttresses at one end. The hall is ceiled over with another room above and provision is made for a kitchen at one end of the block. It would be interesting to know more about the distribution of this type. The later houses include such important examples as the new castle at Sherborne, built for Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1595), Forde Abbey, incorporating the extensive buildings of the last abbot, Thomas Charde (1521-39), with additions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Melbury House, first built in the early sixteenth century and enlarged about 1700. Some of the smaller houses of this period are singularly perfect. Mapperton, with the parish church and two flanking blocks of stables, forms a perfect group of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The classical style of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is well represented in small towns like Bridport. Most of this architecture bears a strong local impress. It follows the metropolitan styles while never losing its own character. It is only occasionally, as at Sadbarow in Thorncombe (1773), that we are surprised by the sudden appearance of a rather alien sophistication, and here there is documentary evidence suggesting that advice from London and Bath was available.

The examples chosen are inevitably influenced by the writer's knowledge of the buildings, where photographs and text have recalled half-forgotten memories of houses seen long ago. The volume contains the record of other buildings as fine and as interesting as those noted above; a careful study will bring to light a wealth of architectural beauty, often in places little suspected. No review can do full justice to the contents of this Inventory. It is a careful and painstaking record of what has survived, edited with an artistic appreciation of the value of clear and concise writing and an unerring instinct for the most revealing illustrations. C. A. R. RADFORD

La Vie des Monuments français: destruction, restauration. Par PAUL LÉON. 12 × 8. Pp. 584. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1951.

France and England have many bonds between them; that most familiar to us is a common interest in our past. This book helps to show how many of the problems of maintaining and conserving its monuments are common to both our countries. Though in England the devastation of the Reformation may antedate the destructions of the French Revolution by two centuries and a half, though the ravages of the first Great War were almost confined to France, yet our common experiences in the last decade make us companions in almost equal misfortune. Our architectures likewise have long been fellow-victims to the well-meaning vandalism of those in authority.

Yet in dealing with the problems of the conservation of what remains we have dealt with them quite differently. For instance, in England we granted priority to housing after the last war; in France it was given to the restoration of buildings of architectural merit. In England we did not set up a Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments until 1908, and until lately its interests officially ended at 1714. In France (though much of the impulsion towards the study of earlier architecture came from England) the Commission des Monuments historiques resulted in 1881 from the inventory of such buildings initiated by Guizot in 1838 and carried out, if incompletely, in the years between.

M. Paul Léon's monumental volume tells the story with completeness and authority, and in the telling provides a fascinating chapter in French social history. Its illustrations, too, many of them of buildings before restoration, will prove of deep interest to students of French architecture. Anyone involved however remotely in the maintenance, restoration, and study of architecture is advised to read it.

JOAN EVANS

English Art, 871-1100. By D. TALBOT RICE. 9½ × 6. Pp. xix + 280. Oxford History of English Art, vol. ii. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1952. 37s. 6d.

English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. By FRANCIS WORMALD. 10 × 6. Pp. 83. London: Faber, 1952. 30s.

It is singularly appropriate that the volume in the Oxford History of English Art devoted to the later Anglo-Saxon period (871-1100) should have been entrusted to the present holder of the chair which was filled for so long and with such distinction by Professor Baldwin Brown. It is now some fifty years since the first volume of Baldwin Brown's *The Arts in Early England* was published and in that space of time much has been done to establish a proper appreciation of the Anglo-Saxon artistic achievement. The present moment is therefore timely for a fresh statement on the subject. Two general observations must be made at the outset on the present study. In the first place, it will be no surprise that the prevailing external stylistic influence in Anglo-Saxon art for Professor Talbot Rice is the Byzantine one; his point of view on this was made clear in his Charlton Memorial Lecture at Newcastle in 1946 (*The Byzantine Element in Late Saxon Art*). This emphasis leads unfortunately to a corresponding under-emphasis on the Scandinavian influence, which Sir Thomas Kendrick has stressed in his own works on the late Saxon sculpture and manuscript illumination. The second general observation to be made relates to the dating of many of the objects discussed; in this matter Professor Talbot Rice reveals himself frankly conservative, declining apparently to be moved by the arguments of the increasingly influential school of critics that has decided to transfer many of the works dealt with in the volume before us to the twelfth century; I may instance the Langford draped Rood, the York Madonna, and the Daglingworth carvings. The author is, however, open to criticism in this matter of dating in that in several instances he fails to indicate to the general reader that the date he himself cites is not one acceptable to all authorities; for example, in the discussion of the Daglingworth carvings (at p. 100) no reference is made to Sir Thomas Kendrick's study of the same objects in his *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949), pp. 50-51, where a strong plea is made on stylistic grounds for a post-Conquest date. The sequence in which the various branches of the art of the period are placed for discussion is, however, admirable, the volume opening with chapters on the historical background and the relations between this country and the Continent, followed by architecture (studied under two headings—later Anglo-Saxon and early Norman), sculpture (which falls in the centre of the volume, being dealt with in eight sections), ivories, manuscripts, and finally four sub-chapters devoted to metal-work, enamels, textiles, and pottery. In the disposition of the space at his disposal the author has, however, given too much space to manuscripts and too little to architecture; this is determined doubtless largely by the accident of the survival of material, but without some artificial correction may give a distorted view of the artistic accomplishment of the period. A fuller correlation of the Chapters would also have been preferable to the policy adopted.

In a work that covers so much ground mistakes are inevitable, but some minor slips are irritating: St. Bennet's for St. Benet's (p. 66, and in index, p. 272), Gilgemish for the usual Gilgamesh (pp. 156 and 157, but under normal form in index), Miller for Millar (p. 256), Sharn Turner for Sharon Turner (p. 268), Grey for Gray in Birch's name (p. 271), and under the Manuscripts' entry in the index some mistakes have crept in—thus, for Vitellius A.xii and

A.xviii the references should be 213 n. 3 (not n. 1), and the same for Vitellius E.xviii (not 2, 3 n. 1). In this heading should have been included under Stockholm the Codex Aureus, which appears separately under Stockholm with Aureus misspelt, however, as Aureas. These are small points that may be corrected in a second edition. So far as actual statements are concerned it may be observed that the Charter of Cnut confirming the privileges of Christ Church, Canterbury, is inserted in the body of B.M. Royal MS. 1 D.ix at f. 44^b and not 'at the end' (p. 195), and that it would have been far wiser to avoid the use of 'Canterbury Psalter' for B.M. Harley MS. 603, as that title is normally employed for another copy of the Utrecht Psalter, namely, the Eadwine Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge. The illustrations with one exception are excellent; the exception is the Godwin seal (pl. 36 d), for which it would have been better to substitute a line-drawing in the text—see O. M. Dalton's *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, 1909, p. 32, or A. B. Tonnochy's *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum*, 1952, p. 2.

One branch of the manuscript illumination discussed by Professor Talbot Rice is dealt with at greater length in the second book before us, Professor Wormald's long-awaited and excellent *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*. The volume falls into three divisions: introduction, catalogue, and illustrations. In his introduction Professor Wormald traces the history of outline drawing as used for book-illustration in the large numbers of English manuscripts that survive from the tenth and eleventh centuries. In this artistic medium the Anglo-Saxons found the fullest expression for their extraordinary powers of dramatic feeling and for their keen sense of movement, qualities which appear also, here and there, in their sculpture: if it is light and graceful movement, see how Luxuria dances (even out of the frame) in pl. 6 (a), or note how in the reproduction below (6 (b)) this same Luxuria abases herself before the sharp-featured Sobrietas, or observe how the figures sowing and scything in pl. 12 are instinct with movement—note how the rhythm of the scything figure is balanced by the oppositely sweeping circle of the scythe held upright for honing by his companion; as a last example look at the movement of the diving angel in pl. 26 (b) which is reminiscent of the sculptured flying angels in the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon. The way in which the Saxon artists assimilated elements from several sources and made them a part of their own intellectual apparatus is also very well illustrated in these outline drawings. One point made by Professor Wormald is the absence of any influence of Ottonian art in Anglo-Saxon outline drawing, which remained Carolingian in descent: this is very important because it may offer a clue to the reasons why this form of decoration was used. It suggests that it was employed primarily for manuscripts not intended for court circles but for those required for everyday working use in the monastic establishments; an examination of the subject-matter seems to lend support to this—the drawings rarely appear in Gospel-books or when they do they are often subsequent additions, but they do appear as an integral part of the manuscripts of Aratus, Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, works of Aldhelm, and so on. Attention is also given to the Scandinavian influence which is responsible for certain elements in the rather puzzling Cotton MS. Claudius B.iv, for which I think the suggested date of 'Second quarter of 11th century' may be a little on the late side. Sometimes only a study of the manuscript itself will bring out the delicacy with which differently coloured lines are used in the composition. The least successful plates in the book are 30 and 31, for which the condition of the manuscript (Cotton Tiberius C.vi) is in part responsible (the parchment was rendered almost transparent as a result of the heat of the 1731 fire). In pl. 30 in the reproduction of folio 13 the figures on the verso show through, thus confusing and upsetting the balance of the composition on the recto, which suffers still more because the red lines have failed to register so that the outline of the body of the hanging Christ is practically non-existent, but the brown lines register fully. Again, in the Pentecost of pl. 31 the rays of the Spirit are in a wonderful red and illumine the whole scene as they stream over the background but in the plate they are only just visible;

secondly, the heavy broad lines of the clothes of the seated figures in this plate are in the original the finest of brown lines edged in pale blue or green and red. These points illustrate technical difficulties that have to be overcome before we can safely use photographs for stylistic study, a fact to be emphasized with particular urgency at this moment when the use of collections of photographs for deductions as to stylistic development and relationships is becoming increasingly common. A study of older methods of colour reproduction might perhaps also be not unsalutary in view of the inadequacy of the coloured frontispiece. The catalogue deserves a special word of praise; here we have from an experienced palaeographer and cataloguer of manuscripts precisely the information we require. Two very small slips may be noted for correction in a second edition: in the list of illustrations, under 16 (a) the manuscript is Titus D.xxvii (not xxvi), and in the Catalogue at p. 67, under MS. 29, the 'and' of the first line of description is presumably a slip of the printer for 'viz'.

C. E. WRIGHT

Dress in Medieval France. By JOAN EVANS. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xv + 80. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1952. 35s.

Dr. Joan Evans has been particularly happy in selecting a title for her latest book, for the deceptively easy phrase she has chosen is in fact a precise definition of her theme. Disclaiming any attempt to create a studied costume-reconstruction of her special period, she has chosen instead to show how the dress of medieval France, like its art and its architecture, followed and illustrated the varying phases of general cultural development. The exact cut and materials of a particular garment are only of secondary significance beside the attitude of mind that thought them becoming, and made them fashionable, at one time rather than another. From the simple post-classical style of long or short tunic, belt, and mantle we are led on to the shaped, close-fitting garments of the fourteenth century and thence again to the flowing *houppelande* that depended for its effect not on sheer elegance of line but on the actual surface of richly brocaded fabric, and the play of light over innumerable broken folds. Looking through her short but highly concentrated chapters of text, or turning over the plates that form the second part of the volume, we are conscious all the time that this is a book not really about costume as we think about it in our day, but about clothes as their wearers thought about them in their own.

This method of approach pays for its fascination with certain difficulties, and the principal one, inevitably, is nomenclature. Contemporary references involve contemporary technical terms, and we are less ready to assign exact meanings to all these than were the costume-writers, both French and English, of the middle of the nineteenth century. It is no disparagement to the great work done by Planché and Fairholt in this country, and by Viollet-le-Duc and Victor Gay in France, to be grateful for their histories without entirely accepting their glossaries, and this point, taken for granted by Dr. Evans herself, might perhaps have been made more obvious to the ordinary reader. In our own day the tailor and the haberdasher refer to different garments when each talks about a vest; how then can we be certain what any individual French writer had in his mind 600 years ago when, for instance, he referred to a *cotte*? This bewildering garment makes its first appearance in Dr. Evans's text as 'a long sleeveless tunic' worn over the military hauberk. We mentally identify it with what we should probably call a surcoat, and go on to find with surprise that about 1210 the *cotte* had long, tight sleeves and came down to the ankles, and that a surcoat was worn on the top of it, which means a rapid readjustment of ideas and a reluctance to accept the word as denoting any particular type of garment at all. So with other things, particularly with armour. Are *haubert*, *haubergeon*, and *jacque* really alternative garments of mail or alternative names for the same garment? And what is the evidence for a 'cmail of cloth' when the illustration cited in support of it appears to show an ordinary caped hood of cloth, which goes into just those folds, *experto credite*, when pulled down about the shoulders? Similarly, when we are

shown 'the stiff pointed hennin' developing to its full height from 1450 to 1470, it is perplexing to read directly afterwards that in 1429 it was so widely popular as to be assailed by preachers in the pulpit and rude children in the street, and that the fashion was ended by Agnes Sorel, presumably about 1440. Here again the author's profound scholarship has enabled her to thread her way lightly through the wilderness, instinctively differentiating between the true hennin of Monstrelet and the steeple-like hennin of Victor Gay, and not always realizing, in her generosity, that readers less well equipped than herself may well be making more laborious progress.

M. R. HOLMES

Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Von WOLFGANG FRITZ VOLBACH. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Katalog 7. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 114 + Taf. 68. Mainz, 1952.

The author's avowed intention, according to the preface, is to fix the present state of research in this field, in spite of much as yet uncertain, both in the dating and in the provenance of his material. However, he attempts more than this. As well as trying to give us a synthesis of the vast amount of material written on this subject since his catalogue first appeared in 1916, he puts on record his own opinion, both of date and provenance, where the choice provided by other scholars is almost unlimited. Take as an example the Chair of Maximian (no. 140) which has been attributed to Ravenna, Upper Italy, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt influenced by Syriac iconography. In the catalogue Volbach plumps for Ravenna, although, here as well as elsewhere, he has not the opportunity within the scope of a catalogue to give us his reasons for doing so. How valuable his attributions are depends therefore entirely on our faith in his judgement. This faith has been considerable, and mine is somewhat shaken by this book. In the introduction (p. 17) the author mentions the Chair of Maximian again, but this time as an example of the 'mixed style' of Constantinople. He says in fact: 'Constantinople itself shows, before the iconoclastic controversy, an interesting mixture of styles. Besides classicist pieces like the Archangel in London (no. 109), one finds, on the Cathedra of Ravenna, Alexandrian and Syriac elements combined.' He later adds that we will find the same Syriac elements again on the Berlin Diptych (no. 137) and in the group around the Murano Diptych (no. 125). If we follow this up in the catalogue we find that no. 137 is attributed to a 'Byzantine carver' and that no. 125 is stylistically connected with the pyx in Livorno (no. 165) and another in the Vatican (no. 181) which 'clearly shows its relation to the Syriac school'. Even if we agree with this stylistic comparison, and look at the entries dealing with these two pyxes in the catalogue, we discover that no. 165, after being related to a further set of pieces (nos. 167, 193a, 166, 162), is to be compared to a fresco in the Alexandrian catacombs, and no. 181 is related to nos. 204, 180, 179, 130, 194, 166, but not a word in explanation of the Syriac style. It is also difficult, for example, to see why the author points out that the border ornament found on no. 231 is 'like' that found on no. 114, when this same ornament is also used on nos. 1, 56, 60, 67, 93, 100, 109, 112, 113, 209, 232.

Frankly I find this sort of thing confusing, and one can make many such rather fruitless journeys through the numerous iconographic, stylistic, or detail references to other pieces, given for each entry. But if the author confuses us, we must not blame him too much. It would be difficult to find a more confusing subject in the whole of Art-history, or one which shows up the weakness of purely stylistic analysis so clearly. It is undoubtedly a field which has suffered more than its share of over-specialization and over-refinement. Only the work of Delbrück on Consular Diptychs stands like a rock in the ever-changing scene, and the present study does not help to bring order into the chaos. But we must be grateful to the author for putting before us so much of the evidence, not only in excellent reproductions of almost all the works listed in a very full

catalogue, but also good bibliographies for each piece, which only here and there fall short of completeness. A notable omission is the appendix in A. A. Vasiliev's book *Justin the First* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, i, 1950), dealing with the date of the Archangel ivory in the British Museum (no. 109), in which he has shown good evidence for dating this ivory between 519 and 523.

In conclusion I list one or two errors I noticed: No. 5, read PUBLIC(a)E for PUBLICAE. In several bibliographies Dalton's book is given as *Early* instead of *East Christian Art*. The illustrations for nos. 181 and 182 are interchanged. No. 257: instead of the British Museum vase described, a piece in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin is illustrated.

PETER E. LASKO

Norske Kongeborger. Av GERHARD FISCHER. Bind 1. 12½ × 8½. Pp. 371. (English Summary of 19 pages.) Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1951.

Mr. Gerhard Fischer, in this first of two large volumes, gives as full an account as is now possible, both from documentary and archaeological sources, of early Norwegian castles and other royal residences. It is clear from the Sagas that the Norse were more prone to attack than defence, but the existence of Cubbie Roo's castle in the island of Wyre in Orkney has suggested that they were not oblivious to the usefulness of such a stronghold. This is a small, square, stone tower, closely resembling an English or Welsh keep, which, it seems certain, was built c. A.D. 1150 by a Norseman. Nevertheless in Norway itself military works of any kind seem to have been excessively rare before c. 1200.

The earliest, Sarpsborg, over 70 km. south of Oslo, is not a castle; it has a rampart enclosing a large area as for a town. It was made in 1016 by St. Olav; slight excavation has shown it to be in character not unlike Hedeby in Denmark. At Konungabella the castle of Sigurd Jorsalfarer dates historically from the early twelfth century, and is referred to as being made of stones and turf. Mr. Fischer's illustration (p. 34) even suggests that it may have been a motte, but there seems to be no other hint of any other such castle in Norway, and this may be an illusion. Sigurd's father was that Magnus Barelegs who seems to have erected mottes in the Isle of Man.

The first certain castles occur in the time of King Sverre; first a rampart of earth and timber across the isthmus in the western part of Trondheim, now covered by the remains of later fortifications, and c. 1119 the first stone castle. This, now called Sverresborg, near Trondheim, upon excavation proved to have a square tower over the entrance and away from it on each side a range of rectangular buildings, the whole forming a continuous block along the one side of the hill which could be attacked. There seems to have been a similar castle at Bergen, but of this nothing remains, and another in Tunsberg, also destroyed, but no others are on record before the thirteenth century.

The castle on Valdisholm dates probably from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and that on Steinsholmen in Mjosa to 1234. The former has a stone curtain round a polygonal courtyard, and against one side of this curtain is built a four-sided tower. The castle on Steinsholmen consists of just such another tower. In both cases the walls are about 3 m. thick, and the tower of Steinsholmen is very large in overall dimensions, 18 m. by 20 m. Except in the proportion of wall thickness to internal area, these towers resemble English keeps of the late twelfth century.

Mr. Fischer treats also of early royal residences in Tunsberg, Bergen, and Oslo, and mentions the completion in 1276 of the brick tower (Teglkastellet) at the first-named, but unfortunately the plans illustrating this part of the book are mostly town plans with the result that individual buildings can scarcely be studied.

The book is scholarly and well produced. Much of it is devoted to an outline of the development

of castles in other lands as a background for Norwegian readers. Later buildings will be included in a second volume.

B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL

Svenska Kyrkomålningar från Medeltiden. By BENGT G. SÖDERBERG. 11½ × 7. Pp. x+283. 4 plates in colour, 164 plates in photogravure, and 62 plates in the text. Stockholm, 1951.

This is a wholly admirable survey of wall-paintings in Swedish churches from the earliest examples up to the seventeenth century. Dr. Bengt Söderberg, the well-known art-historian, has produced a book which fills a long-felt want, and one cannot but wish that we had its equivalent in this country.

To cover so wide a field the material has inevitably had to be condensed to a great extent. But the book while cast, in the best sense, in a popular form loses nothing by this, for it is sound and authoritative. Moreover, it has the merit, indeed the essential feature, for a book of this kind, that it is lavishly and admirably illustrated. Most of the plates are from photographs of the actual paintings; but others are from water-colour copies which vary in merit and whose origin is not specified. And in many cases some indication of the scale of the painting, or the degree of restoration which has been carried out, would be welcome (i.e. plates 10, 14-16, 29, 60, 106, 130, etc.).

The author estimates that there are some 500 churches in Sweden with wall-paintings dating from 1100 to 1650 that have been partly or wholly preserved. His scheme is to treat these chronologically and by style. He has been able to identify by name probably far more painters than we have done in this country—our own being almost exclusively limited to the Court School at Westminster, Windsor, or Clarendon.

There are naturally many examples of foreign influence in a country like Sweden. Thus in Chapter VI Master Sigmund and the Saxon style are discussed; in Chapter VIII French high Gothic in Södra Råda and English in Björsåtor. On the whole it is remarkable to note the extraordinary similarity of treatment of many subjects, like the Passion and the lives of the Saints, with work in this country. It is possible that the influence of Matthew Paris was felt in Sweden as a result of his visit to Norway. And of course King Olaf was converted and Sweden evangelized by Sigfried, an English monk from Glastonbury. An individual feature not at any rate surviving to the same extent over here, if it ever existed, is the remarkable decoration of Swedish vaults (plates 50-59, 63-64, 95-100, 107-10, 120-3, 126-7).

Dr. Söderberg further deserves our gratitude for having the book well indexed—there is an Iconographic Index; an ample Bibliography; and an Index of Persons and Places.

E. CLIVE ROUSE

Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire. By ARTHUR R. GREEN, F.S.A., and PHYLLIS M. GREEN. Pp. vii+67. Pls. xx. Diags. 11. Winchester: Warren & Son Ltd., The Wykeham Press, 1951.

This small book contains a corpus of the Saxon structures and carved stones in Hampshire together with a section on sun-dials and mass-dials which for the purpose are deemed to be sculpture. In order to make the county record as complete as possible, and perhaps, in truth, to set the seal upon the artistic achievement of the period, the small ivory carving of the two adoring angels from the Winchester Museum is included.

The text is arranged in a most orderly manner under the two main heads: architecture and sculpture. The first is subdivided into the three groups: churches of pre-Conquest origin, of Saxo-Norman origin, and of doubtful date. The second is subdivided according to purpose and not to chronology into the five groups: roods, crosses, grave slabs, headstones, and sun-dials. In each section the entries are arranged in alphabetical order under place-names. The entries

follow a constant pattern beginning with a careful description of the church or sculpture, supplemented with illustrations, and ending with a discussion of the date. Thus, with the help of a short index, reference is as straightforward as it could well be.

The subject is one which has received much attention during the past fifty years, but our knowledge of late Saxon sculpture in the south remains far from complete and it is to contribute to our fuller knowledge that Dr. and Miss Green have published the present corpus. 'Until all known examples can be assembled,' they say in their introduction, 'sources and channels of influence traced, comparison made of the smallest details, the picture must remain incomplete and classification and chronology still fluid.' It has been the authors' particular aim to supply the details and to present them simply and without prolixity.

The present wide divergences of opinion amongst antiquaries upon the dating of Saxon sculptures will only be resolved by similar close analysis and classification of the surviving works in other counties.

In treating of buildings the authors have assigned to the western porch of Titchfield church a very much earlier date than that hitherto suggested. Professor Baldwin Brown placed it at the earliest in the latter part of the eighth century. Dr. Green places it in the early period of the Conversion of England and suggests that it was one of St. Wilfrid's foundations during his sojourn—a restless sojourn—in the south between 681 and 685. In truth it does not show characteristic late Saxon work, but whether the arrangement of the quoins may be called 'earlier than long and short work' rather than a contemporary megalithic treatment is uncertain. This origin would indeed explain the absence from Titchfield of any features peculiar to the Kentish group of churches resulting from the Roman mission of St. Augustine, and the Titchfield porch would then stem from the Northumbrian group, from Monkwearmouth rather than from Canterbury. Any attempt at comparative analysis immediately reveals the most serious defect in this book, the absence of detailed plans; it is a lacuna detracting fundamentally from the value of the careful and accurate text.

The pre-Conquest work in the fourteen churches described is mainly illustrative of the second main period in our early architectural history, all, with the possible exception of that at Titchfield, being between approximately 957 and the Norman Conquest, so far as may be judged, sometimes in the absence of firmly datable characteristics. The number of churches in this pre-Conquest group may be something of a surprise; however, with the notable exceptions of Boarhunt, Breamore, Corhampton and Headbourne Worthy, the early work is much altered or overlaid; that at Romsey Abbey survives only below ground and that at Upton Grey is fragmentary and reset.

At the risk of tedium in returning once more to Titchfield, it is clear that the authors have found difficulty in equating it even remotely with any buildings in the group above and have found sometime between 681 and 685 a possible occasion for the foundation, but it requires special pleading: 'Wilfrid was extremely wealthy, a great church builder,—his craftsmen travelled with him on his journeys. It is to be supposed that a man of his energy and disposition would have built churches wherever he evangelized.' In 680 a synod at Rome ordained his restitution to York, but he was imprisoned on his return and when released wandered to Mercia, Wessex, and finally to Sussex, being restored to York in 685 and Ripon in 686. Whatever the truth may be, so long as the history of English architecture during the eighth and ninth centuries remains so obscure and difficult we may not find the answer to such problems as this at Titchfield.

While the book was in preparation the authors were able to see Sir Alfred Clapham's notes 'On Some Disputed Examples of pre-Conquest Sculpture' subsequently published in *Antiquity*. The reasons why this essay was written are generally known, and nowhere may Dr. and Miss Green's skill in steering between the Scylla and Charybdis of dating be better seen than in their discussion upon the great Romsey rood. On the one side is a pre-Conquest date, on the other

a post-Conquest; these two, from the history of the nunnery, they narrow down to 1025-65 or after 1090. 'We', they say, 'prefer a date in the 11th century.'

An innovation and an ambiguity in dating have been discussed here, but in general a most noticeable feature of this useful and informative book is the reasoned and undogmatic way in which the dating of the material is presented.

A. R. DUFTY

Westminster Abbey, Its Worship and Ornaments, vol. iii. By JOCELYN PERKINS, C.V.O., M.A., D.C.L., D.D., F.S.A. 5½ × 10. Pp. xii + 239. Alcuin Club Collections, no. xxxviii. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952. 35s.

This volume concludes the survey undertaken by the Sacrist of Westminster Abbey of the liturgical arrangement and ornaments of the abbey church; the two earlier volumes were nos. xxxiii and xxxiv in the Alcuin Collections. The Alcuin Club exists to promote the study of the history and use of the Book of Common Prayer and encourages the practical study of the English liturgy with its ceremonial, the arrangement of churches, their furniture and ornaments. It will be understood therefore that Dr. Perkins's approach to his subject is archeolitical. The survey will be of much interest to those antiquaries, unfortunately now few, who specialize in this study and a source of enjoyment to those who take an intelligent interest in this overwhelming building. The volume includes in the first chapter a brief account of the vicissitudes of the fittings in eleven of the eastern chapels, and here a plan in the text would have been most helpful; in passing, it is clearly incorrect to describe the adornments on Abbot Kirton's screen as 'crowned figures' (p. 2), they are cocks, emblems of the Passion and St. Peter; further, the statement that Islip's chapel serving as a mausoleum and chantry 'represented a striking new development' (p. 8) is surely not intended. This account necessarily treats of much prior to 1549, but it occupies only 33 of a total of 239 pages in the book and the remaining contents conform more closely to the Alcuin code.

In the next two chapters the furniture generally: pulpits, font, lecterns, etc., and *ornamenta*—plate, frontals, copes, etc.—are described; these as a result of the pillage of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are nearly all post-Restoration. Thus this modern inventory of the liturgical possessions of the church which our medieval kings and great ones delighted to enrich now includes only one pre-Reformation piece of movable furniture: the pulpit nicknamed the 'wine-glass'; of *ornamenta*, a cope given by Henry VII survives but is no longer at Westminster. The descriptions of the floors paved with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century tiles seem out of their context in this inventory.

The last chapter, nearly half the book, on 'Worship and Order, 1560-1950', comprises a general survey of the setting of worship in the abbey which, indeed, epitomizes the changes in arrangements and fittings in churches throughout the country. The author conveys very clearly the impression of the undaunted tenacity of the body of churchmen in control of the building during the last forty years of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century in their steady endeavours to make good the desecration caused during the Puritan ascendancy and to re-establish Anglican worship in the abbey. Straws showing the direction of the untamed wind of suspicion and distrust which must have made their tasks sufficiently difficult are many; Dean Sprat, a high anglican, when re-erecting the classical altar-piece in 1708 omitted the figures and statue of Our Lord; again, the tombstone of Herbert Thorndike, the seventeenth-century theologian, who left testamentary instructions for an inscription commending his soul to God, remains incomplete.

By the same token, perhaps, in pictures of the presbytery at this period no cross is seen upon the altar. Instead there is an alms-dish flanked by candlesticks and finely bound altar-books standing on end. Contemporaneously in St. Paul's a Bible or Prayer Book stood upright in the

centre of the altar, with a candlestick on each side, and the practice obtained in parish churches as well as in cathedrals. But warranty for this seemingly arrangement may have been sought in the medieval usage of placing the *textus* on the altar.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Dr. Perkins instances, the accusation of Romanism was raised against Bishop Butler (1692-1752) for, he says, having placed a white cross over the altar in his private chapel at Bristol (p. 137). But the accusation was retrospective and he was suspect, quite erroneously, on other grounds; in his Durham charge he had stressed the advantage of external religion and referred in this respect to the Church on the Continent. He was alleged to have died in communion with Rome, and the Archbishop of Canterbury took the surprising course of writing as 'Misopseudes' in the *St. James's Chronicle* in defence of his memory.

Documentarily the appendixes are perhaps the most important part of the present volume; here Dr. Perkins has put us permanently in his debt by gathering together in easily accessible form a number of inventories of the abbey furnishings, in 1520, 1617, 1661, and 1750, one of which at least, Dean Neile's inventory of 1617, has not previously been published.

It is sad that one of the most interesting illustrations is on the dust-wrapper. This fleeting pleasure is a pen-and-ink reconstruction, reproduced from the *Builder*, of the pre-Reformation high altar drafted with loving care and great attention to detail by H. W. Brewer in 1892 in consultation with St. John Hope and J. T. Micklethwaite from documentary and other evidence, chiefly from the drawings in the Islip roll of 1532. It is triumphantly redolent, in every line, of 1892.

A. R. DUFTY

L'Architecture religieuse du Nivernais au moyen âge. Les églises romanes. Par M. ANFRAY. 11¼ × 9. Pp. 326. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1951. Fr. 3500.

The Nivernais extends, roughly speaking, from Cosne to Clamecy, from Clamecy almost to Saulieu, thence to Luzy, and from Luzy west to St. Pierre-le-Moutier. It includes a great number of fine churches, the majority Romanesque, and the finest of Cluniac origin. These are well studied by M. Anfray; but they are not his only theme, for he also gives us an admirable conspectus of the lesser churches of the region. He classifies them by plan, and goes on to study their sculptural decoration, before summing up his general conclusions.

The architecture of the department of the Nièvre deserves a fuller study than it usually receives. It is profoundly influenced by Burgundy, yet remains of a lighter vintage; it is essentially monastic, yet is far from being uniform. Its sculpture, because of its material, falls into two classes: that in fine stone of the Loire valley, which is often treated as an offshoot of the Burgundian school, and that in hard granite of the Morvan, which is usually ignored. Yet the province had (and has) a life of its own, and the style of its churches and its sculpture cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of the influence of its neighbours. None the less, the striking contrast between the puritanical Romanesque of Saint Étienne de Nevers, consecrated in 1097, and the feminine elegante of La Charité sur Loire, consecrated only ten years later, shows an evolution too rapid to have been worked out within the confines of a single province.

M. Anfray has no very original theories to expound on these great churches, but his detailed work—for instance, in the recording of the subjects of the lost tympana of Saint Étienne de Nevers—will be of lasting value. Not less valuable is his work on the destroyed, or almost destroyed, churches of St. Martin de Nevers, Sainte Eugénie de Varzy, Notre Dame de Donzy, Saint Sauveur de Nevers, and the like. The chief criticism which the reviewer would wish to offer is that the rather mechanical classification by the number of stories and the system of lighting to some extent inhibits the author from a full study of the affiliations and influences which would be of particular interest in a province so rich in Romanesque.

JOAN EVANS

Churches of Somerset. By A. K. WICKHAM, M.A., F.S.A. 10 x 6. Pp. 176 (2 maps + 108 figs.). London: Phœnix House, 1952. 30s.

English parish churches offer a harvest of extraordinary richness, and for more than a century have provoked a keen response from historians, architects, archaeologists, and local students. Several of the many works produced have been geographically limited to some one county. Such treatment has real value, corresponding to our regional traditions and yielding units of material which can be absorbed by a single scholar. Among books of this class the present volume takes a high place.

This posthumous work is unlike others of its type in that it contains no inventory of individual churches, such as its author could so well have compiled had his life been spared. This is indeed a great loss to the antiquary: but the limitation has added to the literary stature of the book. It is in form an extended essay, clearly subdivided under logical heads, and giving a full and rounded picture of the Somerset church as an instance of human striving towards the unattainable. An especial virtue is that it brings out adequately the deliberate attempt to reach perfection in design: an attempt so clearly demonstrable in later medieval architecture. Wickham rightly stressed 'the sure taste of the Perpendicular designers and the excellence of their work', best seen in the towers to whose development an important section is devoted. This includes valuable constructive criticism of former classifications, and shows that there is no evidence for Allen's theory of migratory groups of masons in Somerset; nor, one might add, anywhere else.

There are admirable chapters on glass, monuments, brasses, and upon the centuries since the Reformation. The construction and the destruction of the Victorians are fairly described, and the present shoddy cult of Victoriana gently reproved. The book is a beautiful example of production, and its plates (many of the best are from the author's own photographs) are a delight. The friends who saw the book through the press triumphantly surmounted a difficult task, only leaving the reader to surmise that bequests were to the 'mother' rather than the 'modern' church of Wells (p. 48, line 5).

The quality of Wickham's mind and personality is communicated by the text, and most vividly to those who knew him. The man who, soon after a serious operation, flung off his jacket to climb tall ladders in pursuit of knowledge, possibly shortened his life by doing so; yet without his combined enthusiasm and devotion he could not have produced this beautiful and finished work.

JOHN H. HARVEY

Medieval Sherborne. By JOSEPH FOWLER, M.A., F.G.S. 9½ x 7½. Pp. xiii + 409. Dorchester: Longmans (Dorchester) Ltd., 1951. 30s.

Since the days of the great county historians and their monumental works we and our predecessors have seen the publication of a substantial number of more modest histories of towns, villages, and parishes. These differ widely in scholarship and in accuracy, and but rarely reveal any endeavour to stir a range of interest inversely proportioned to the range of subject. It is, therefore, something of an occasion when a local history of the excellence of *Medieval Sherborne* is published. One of the few recent books of comparable quality which comes to mind is Fr. Robo's *Medieval Farnham*. The ideal is that these books should be printed and published by local printers, and Longman's of Dorchester have every reason to be proud of their production; the one drawback is that publicity is thereby somewhat restricted when the book is worthy of more than local recognition.

Mr. Fowler has written a book of wide scope and much erudition and presented the material in an agreeable manner. The material is indeed exceptional and there is cause for thankfulness that a capable historian was chosen to edit it. It will be remembered that Sherborne retains much of the medieval pattern and, within it, four most important surviving buildings of medieval

foundation: the abbey church, the almshouse, the castle, and the school. The evidences concerning the abbey are considerable and of importance in the wider fields of the ecclesiastical and political history of the country. The other three foundations are only of less interest in so far as their importance was localized; their documentary material is almost equally rich. Furthermore, there exists the splendid Sherborne Missal, now at the British Museum; the Hundred Court Rolls from 1405-6 survive, together with the Halimote Court Rolls of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and these are only some of the sources.

Mr. Fowler in his first two chapters relates land-use to the geology of the area in a most illuminating way, with an analysis of formation and terrain and the ground-plan and pattern of living which developed inevitably from them. To do this he very properly takes the matter of his book beyond the title of the work into prehistory. Chapters are devoted to St. Aldhelm, the first bishop of Sherborne west of Selwood, and the other twenty-six Saxon bishops of Sherborne covering a period of nearly three and three-quarter centuries. Thereafter the history of the town is treated century by century in the remaining chapters.

The wealth of material in the book is such that it is inevitable there should be divergence of opinion upon the interpretation put upon some of the evidence. The author is perhaps less sure in his discussions upon architecture, and the more serious criticisms are in this connexion. 'It was the Norman builders who taught our forefathers how to use stone' is an unfortunate oversimplification; not only is it a half-truth, but against it may be set the fact that a consummate sense of scale in stone building vanished with the arrival of the new technique. Proof of this may be found, to give but one example, in the small tenth-century church at Wittering, near Stamford, with a chancel-arch of 'so monumental and megalithic a character that first sight of it produces a mental shock'. This curious immensity of scale may be noted in much pre-Conquest work, while much Norman work, however big, is without it.

William of Malmesbury tells us that he himself had seen St. Aldhelm's church in Sherborne *mirifice construxit*, but Mr. Fowler points out that it was Bishop Wulfsgie's work which in fact he saw and of which a late-tenth-century doorway and a few late Saxon details survive incorporated in the present abbey church. Since this book was in the press Sir Alfred Clapham has shown that in all probability very much more of Wulfsgie's church survives cased in later work, including parts of the nave walls and the central crossing. In 998 Wulfsgie was granted permission to eject the secular canons and to bring the minster under the rule of St. Benedict, and the rebuilding was probably in connexion with this change-over.

In the section on Bishop Roger's castle the suggestion is made that his residence in Sherborne was due to the wellnigh impossible living conditions at Old Sarum, largely a military garrison, and perhaps in part too to give rein to his passion for building. The innovations in the castle buildings are described, but the significance is missed of the arrangement of buildings round a courtyard with alleyways on all four sides revealed by Mr. Bean's excavations in the last few years, and thus the explanation by analogy of the 'great tower' at Bishop Roger's other castle at Old Sarum, previously an inexplicable feature. It would be interesting to know the author's evidence for placing the chapel of St. Michael on the first floor of the north range of the castle.

These criticisms, and others there are of greater or lesser consequence, are made without in any way wishing to detract from the merits of the work, which is a model of its kind. It is a mine of information of interest essentially to the social-economic historian; at random, one notes evidence of a two-field system of cultivation in the twelfth century, the distribution of the bishop's demesne land among other cultivators' strips and, in the eighteenth-century plan of the Sherborne Manor estate, the widely scattered strips forming the single estate of each tenant.

The reviewer has noticed most of the small misprints which as proof-reader he would probably have missed and remarked some unexpected omissions from the bibliography: the first and second

editions of Hutchins, which should be used in conjunction with the third edition, A. Oswald's *Country Houses of Dorset, Prehistoric Britain* by J. and C. F. C. Hawkes, and Sir Alfred Clapham's books on the Romanesque.

A. R. DUFTY

The Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge: Notes on their History and Design. By KENNETH HARRISON. 8½ × 6½. Pp. viii + 90. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1952. 10s. 6d.

This is a most studious and carefully documented work, which deserves a fuller consideration than it is possible to give in a short review. Not everyone will, however, be able to accept in full the author's conclusions. To catalogue each window as the work of this or that one of the principal contractors, when not a single authentic example of the work of any one of them is known, is, to say the least, somewhat daring.

Mr. Harrison, following Mr. Oswald, thinks that the sketch for a stained glass window in the Laing collection had 'some connexion with the Northern Province' and that this 'is further suggested by the inclusion among the saints of St. William of York' (p. 64). But as there are only two medieval saints shown in the drawing, and as the other one is St. Thomas of Canterbury, this proves nothing. It is curious in this connexion that Mr. Harrison has not discussed the East window of St. Margaret's, Westminster, which dates about 1526, and the points of contact which it makes with the Laing design on the one hand, and the East window at King's on the other. They all represent the same subject, 'The Crucifixion', are all of about the same date, and the same features such as the Sun and Moon, the bent legs of the crucified thieves, the soldiers on horseback, and the Magdalene clasping the foot of the Cross, and many more, appear in all three.

Mr. Harrison suggests that all but five of the windows were designed by Dirick Vellert of Antwerp. In this he follows Dr. Beets, who, he says, 'was able to show beyond question that the East window and window 20 were designed by Vellert'. This opinion, so far from being conclusive, is highly debatable. These two writers, whilst forming the same conclusion, do not found it upon the same thing. Dr. Beets says 'that Dirick Vellert drew the cartoons'. Mr. Harrison, whilst appearing to halt between two opinions, suggests (p. 64) that Vellert drew the *Patron* or *Vidimus*, the small preliminary sketch or design. There is no mention in the first contract of any sketches or cartoons which Hone and Partners were to work from, and estimate the time required to carry out the work, or give a price. It is quite possible that these preliminary sketches already existed. For although Barnard Flower, the previous contractor, did not start work until 1515, the subjects, arms, and ornamental features which were to be shown in the windows had been 'already devised and in picture delivered' in March 1509, and the contract stipulates that Hone and Partners were to work 'accordyngly and after such manner as oon Barnard Fflower Glasyer late deceased by Indenture stode bounde to doo'.

It was the usual practice to provide a design, upon which the glass-painters based their estimate. In 1505 Jehan Verrat and Balthasar, glass-painters, agreed to paint a window in Troyes Cathedral 'selon le patron à eulx montré'. The author of this design was doubtless Nicholas Cordonnier, for in the previous year he had been paid for executing 'patrons au petit pied selon le quel les verriers doivent faire les verrières'.

But if, as Dr. Beets states, Vellert supplied the cartoons, they must have been finished, or several of them at any rate, at the time the contract was signed, for the simple reason that there would not have been time to get them from Antwerp. The contractors had, if they pooled their resources of men and material, two months from the day the contract was signed in which to complete and fix each of the first six windows, and three months for each of the remaining windows, and they were under bond for the very large sum of about £330 to complete them.

Moreover, if there was not time to get designs from Vellert in Antwerp, neither was there

sufficient money to pay for them. Williamson and Symonds had 1s. 4d. per foot for their work finished, and out of this they had to pay Hone and Partners for the *Patron* or *Vidimus* supplied to them to work from. Cartoons for glass by an artist of repute cost approximately a third of the cost of the glass-painting. In 1546, for a window in the Chapel of the Miraculous Hosts at Brussels, Jean Haecht received 124 florins for the glass-painting, and Mielh van Coxie 40 florins for the cartoons. By this reckoning, Williamson and Symonds would only have about 10d. per foot for their part of the work.

Instead of the cartoons being drawn by Vellert personally, it is more likely that the similarities, which undoubtedly exist between prints by Vellert and the glass, were due to the draughtsmen 'cribbing' heads and other details from the Antwerp artist's published engravings. This was a common practice at that period. As M. Emile Mâle has pointed out, at Conches are windows the designs for which have been copied from prints not only by Vellert, but Dürer, Hans Beham, Marc Antonio after Raphael, and others, but no one has suggested that the cartoons were drawn by any of these artists.

The press work has been carefully attended to, and only one small error has been noticed. On p. 70, note 1, Walpole Soc. 1927 vol. 25 should be vol. 15, and 1937 vol. 35 should be vol. 25.

J. A. KNOWLES

New College and its Buildings. By A. H. SMITH. 8½ × 5½. Pp. xii + 192. Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press, 1952. 21s.

The Warden of New College has written an extremely interesting book about the history and buildings of the College, throughout relating the one to the other and applying to both a standard of criticism and analysis which is neither purely historical nor purely archaeological but comes naturally from one who is both a professional philosopher and an art critic of discernment and distinction. New College indeed, with its original buildings so masterfully planned to express every aspect of the life which Wykeham intended his scholars to pursue, and with its subsequent alterations and extensions reflecting so directly the successive changes in academic and social standards which gave them birth, is exceptionally well suited to this kind of treatment. Throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries the Warden and Fellows responded almost uncannily to a succession of dramatic and revolutionary changes in religion, society, and the status of learning with modifications and additions to their original buildings which seem more like the unconscious and inevitable processes of biological evolution than the deliberate creations of human intelligence. This illusion of organic growth in response to the slow stimuli of a changing environment is assisted by the fact that, while Wykeham's buildings set a model for college planning which later founders till the early seventeenth century all strove to follow, the dearest age in the history of the College fell in the eighteenth century which witnessed elsewhere such strikingly original essays in academic architecture. New College, peacefully somnolent through the age of George Clarke, Hawksmoor, and Gibbs, displays none of the startling architectural novelties and contrasts to be found at All Souls, Christ Church, or Worcester. The most daring step which the Fellows took in early Georgian times (and it receives just censure from the present Warden) was the uniform substitution of plain sash windows for the traceried casements which had hitherto prevailed everywhere in College, not only of course in the Founder's buildings but in the new upper story added to them in 1675 and even in modified but traditional form in William Byrd's Garden Quadrangle of 1682-3. Adherence to tradition was indeed the most distinctive feature of New College throughout its history. Even when Gilbert Scott in 1873 designed the Holywell buildings for the reformed and very wide-awake College that had resulted from the operations of the first University Commission, 'the accepted traditions were taken as a matter of course . . . for centuries colleges had been built with a series of . . .

staircases giving access to sets of rooms . . . and there were no lateral passages . . . connecting the several staircases. . . . It was a plan never questioned, which may have begun in New College itself. . . . (p. 135), and no one considered the possibility of including in this huge four-storied block such modern but by now fairly respectable amenities as baths, water-closets, or indeed any piped water whatever except to the ground-floor pantries of the servants.

The Warden is at his best on such themes as these: as he is in expounding the structural evolution of his Lodgings, the constitutional history of the Senior and Junior Common Rooms, the sad story of the Chapel glass or the fenestration of the Founder's Library in the light of the recent reconstruction so largely inspired by himself. But here and there in matters both of architecture and of history his account is vulnerable. Three points of history, widely separated in time, require mention. While in his introductory sketch of William of Wykeham happy use is made of the College statutes to illustrate the Founder's real interest in architecture and the arts, the account both of his character and of his public life is somewhat superficial and old-fashioned, particularly in relation to the part played by John of Gaunt and some other great figures of that exciting age. Then again it seems hardly fair to blame Winchester for the eighteenth-century stagnation of New College (p. 104), for the contemporary judgement that the College consisted of 'golden scholars, silver bachelors, and leaden masters' would seem to show that it was not the human material supplied by Winchester but its treatment in New College itself that was at fault. Thirdly, the Warden does less than justice to the then librarian of New College by his repeated assertion (pp. 120, 159) that the books in the Auctarium had been forgotten and left out of count when the plans for the New Library were drawn up in 1937: in fact the positions to be occupied in the new building by all these valuable but little-used books, as indeed of the whole contents of the old library, were minutely detailed by the librarian in advance.

In matters of architecture there are some equally odd slips. It is indeed strange that the Warden should write in several passages as if the T-shaped plan of the Chapel and Ante-chapel, probably originating at New College and imitated later at All Souls, Magdalen, Wadham, and elsewhere, represents a choir, crossing, and transepts with no nave, like the unfinished cruciform chapel at Merton (pp. 28-29). In fact, of course, the New College plan is quite different from Merton. Its Ante-chapel is simply a short aisled nave of two bays, and its Chapel an aisleless chancel, as the Founder's own description of the Ante-chapel as the *navis ecclesiae* and the east-west alignment of the Ante-chapel roofs clearly show. References to the 'crossing' (pp. 28, 29) and to 'transepts' (p. 137) at New College indicate that the Warden has misconceived the nature of this very simple but ingenious plan.

In two matters connected with the architecture of the Lodgings the Warden seems also to have missed points which have left clear traces on the existing fabric. Thus he claims (pp. 42-44) that the spiral staircase which connected the Warden's *aula* over the gate with his bedchamber in the tower above started only from the first floor. This would be on any showing an odd arrangement, for spiral staircases of this kind normally start from ground-level for obvious structural reasons. And in fact the ghost of what seems to have been the original ground-floor doorway of this staircase can still be seen surrounding the first small window (now lighting the vestibule of the Porter's Lodge) in the quadrangle to the north of the gate, a position exactly parallel to that of the corresponding staircase doors adjoining Outer and Middle Gates at Winchester College.¹ Secondly, in his discussion of the oriel window looking north from the Warden's Gallery into the lane (pp. 151-3), the Warden expresses perplexity about its eccentric position in relation to the north wall of the Tudor gallery, and hazards the view that it may not have been built until Warden Nicholas

¹ It is true that the structural arches now visible in the wall between the Porter's Lodge and the gateway are difficult to reconcile with the existence of the ground-floor section of the staircase, but their

insertion may well be part of the same scheme for enlarging the Porter's Lodge as involved the removal of the staircase and the blocking of its original doorway.

cut off the north end of the gallery to provide access in 1675 to his new bridge over the lane to the Warden's Barn. This is only half the truth. Study of the masonry still *in situ* shows in fact that the oriel does belong to the Tudor gallery, but has been moved to its present position from a point a few feet farther west. There it would have been exactly central to the north wall of the Tudor gallery, and the hacked-off stumps of its bracketed corbel stones and part of its west side are still plainly visible in the wall. It was evidently shifted to its present position by Warden Nicholas in order to improve the narrowest part of the passageway giving access to his bridge, for after he had cut off the north end of the old gallery there was no point in retaining the oriel in its original position.

Two or three minor points may be briefly mentioned. The Octagon chapel at Smithgate is not now a lodge of Hertford College but its Junior Common Room (p. 22). The book-chains with swivels found under the floor of the Founder's Library are more likely to have reached this position when the books were eventually unchained (in the eighteenth century?) than when they still lay on the medieval lectern desks (pp. 53-54): there is some reason to believe that the use of swivels on book-chains was itself a novelty in the early seventeenth century,¹ and the New College chains are thus unlikely to belong to the medieval period. In this connexion it is curious that no evidence is given by the Warden for the arrangement of the Founder's Library between the end of the 'lectern period' and Wyatt's refurnishing in the late eighteenth century. We know that a new decorated ceiling was put up in Tudor times, but it is not clear whether it was matched by new book-presses or whether New College was influenced by Bodley's work in Duke Humfrey's Library (as were Christ Church and Hereford Cathedral libraries) to introduce a two- or three-tier stall system for chained folios in the early seventeenth century. If no such change was made it is difficult to understand how the College found room to shelve its very considerable quantities of early printed books.

The interest and value of this book is well illustrated by the number of such questions which it provokes. If all the older colleges of Oxford and Cambridge could be treated in the same way a flood of light would be thrown not only on academic history but on many related aspects of the architectural and cultural development of this country.

J. N. L. MYRES

Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of Canterbury. By BRIAN L. WOODCOCK. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xi + 160. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1952. 18s.

This book by a young Oxford scholar, the late Brian Woodcock, is a study of the procedure and personnel of two ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Canterbury before the Reformation. It is the result of laborious research among the archives now found in the custody of the dean and chapter of Canterbury and in the Kent County Record Office at Maidstone. The courts are the Consistory Court of the diocese presided over from 1278 onwards by the Commissary General, appointed by the Archbishop, and the Court of the Archdeacon presided over by his Official. There are no Consistory Act Books before the fifteenth century, and the earlier evidence arises out of the conflicting claims of the prior and chapter of the cathedral church and of the archdeacon to exercise jurisdiction when the see was vacant after the death of Archbishop Peckham in 1292. Four of the rural deans and some of the clergy refused to recognize the claim of the prior and chapter, and were excommunicated; the archdeacon appealed in person at the papal curia, where in 1299 he was provided to the archbishopric of Dublin. Four years afterwards the same recalcitrant clergy were still under the sentence of excommunication.

Mr. Woodcock had not the opportunity of seeing in print the *Acta* of the Consistory Court of Rochester for eighteen months of 1347-8; the introduction to that text throws light on the

¹ It is so described in a letter of the 1630's in the Bodleian Library (*Bodleian Library Record*, which refers to the introduction of swivelled chains iii (1951), p. 118).

Acta of the Consistory Court of Canterbury for 1474; the cases were similar. Although Mr. Woodcock found few writs of prohibition in Consistory Court records in the fifteenth century, it appears that their issue by the Crown, thereby impeding the course of justice in ecclesiastical courts, was put forward as one of the grievances of the clergy in the Parliament of 1280 and subsequently in 1309.¹

A chance survival of three bills of costs gives the fixed charges common to both courts and other items in the prosecution of a suit in the fifty years before the Reformation. It is interesting to note that in arbitration cases fines for not accepting the verdict were to be contributed to the upkeep or repair of churches. The Guild Hall at Canterbury is called the 'Speche House'. There were fixed fees for probate. Mr. Woodcock noted that numbers of inventories of goods are found among the leaves of the *Acta* books of the Archdeacon, none earlier than the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Among the Miscellaneous Records is the Account Book of the Registrar and Receiver of the archdeacon of Canterbury from 1504 to 1517 which gives a wealth of detail about the meeting-places and sessions of the court. Sunday trading was a not infrequent offence; butchers were penanced for selling meat, barbers for shaving customers. The activities and fees of ecclesiastical lawyers have been noted.

In the Bibliography Mr. Woodcock included a list of the Consistory Court Act Books and the Act Books of the Archdeacon's Court.

R. GRAHAM

Monastic Sites from the Air. By DAVID KNOWLES and J. K. ST. JOSEPH. 11 x 8½. Pp. xxviii + 138 photographs. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1952. 55s.

This volume is the first of a series to be known as Cambridge Air Surveys. The photographs were taken by Dr. St. Joseph from aircraft of the Royal Air Force. All the religious orders which had houses in England, Scotland, and Wales are represented. For each of the 138 illustrations Professor Knowles has written an interpretation with a concise account, in most instances, of the church and the domestic buildings, whether still in existence or known from excavation and with references to printed sources.

Illustrations of the Cistercian monasteries show the rigid conformity of their plans, the refectory standing at right angles to the cloister on account of the spacious building for the lay-brothers alongside the western range. According to the first Cistercian statutes only a low tower might be built. Damage was done at Fountains in an attempt to build another stage on the central tower; the fine tower to the north of the north transept was the work of Abbot Huby (1494-1526) and has a striking appearance from the air. The amount of building undertaken in the last fifty years of the life of the monasteries is illustrated at Forde, at Cleeve, and at St. Osyth.

The first air photographs of Sempringham indicated only the site of the medieval village. The excavation under the direction of Mr. Hugh Braun led in 1939 to the discovery of the great abbey church; the work was interrupted in September 1939 by the outbreak of the war. An air photograph taken in the early summer of 1950, when the land was under light cereal crop instead of rough pasture, shows in outline the cloisters of both canons and nuns. The only site of a double house of the Order of Sempringham previously excavated is Watton in Yorkshire, undertaken by Sir William St. John Hope and Sir Harold Brakspear. In 1309 the tower of the Benedictine monastery of Milton in Dorset was struck by lightning and set on fire; flames spread to the timber roof, the bells melted, liquid metal poured down and frustrated efforts to save the building; the new choir and transepts were gradually built in the fourteenth century. The air photograph does not help to solve the problem whether a new nave was built. The site has never been excavated.

¹ *Register of Archbishop Winchelsey*, pp. 1019-21, 1028.

An increasing number of monastic ruins has passed into the guardianship of the Ministry of Works for preservation. Photographs of Byland, Rievaulx, Thetford, and Muchelney are instances of successful excavation under official guidance. Forde, Beaulieu, and Wenlock, still in private ownership, are admirably cared for.

Dr. St. Joseph has given a complete list of all photographs of religious houses in the Cambridge University Collection with reference numbers; in January 1952 there were over 300.

Two misprints in the names of Fellows of the Society escaped correction, Lovegrave for Lovegrove (p. 208), Budger for Budgen (p. 50). The abbot of Jervaulx was hanged at Tyburn, not beheaded. There is no Office of Works Guide to Lord Montagu's home of Beaulieu. Shaftesbury is in the county of Dorset, not in Wiltshire.

The lack of an adequate description of the abbey site of Bury St. Edmunds is noted by Professor Knowles; it has since been provided in a detailed study by Mr. A. B. Whittingham in vol. cxiii of the *Archaeological Journal*.
R. GRAHAM

The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558 (Oxford History of England). By J. D. MACKIE. Pp. xxii + 699. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1952. 25s.

No field of English history has been more assiduously tilled than that of the early Tudors. Froude, Dixon, Fisher, Pollard, Chambers, Constant, Pickthorn, Powicke—the litany of great names could be extended almost indefinitely, and at least four notable surveys have appeared within the last five years. The present volume of the Oxford History, therefore, cannot be said to fill a regrettable lacuna, though its merits, and its place in the series, will doubtless find for it many readers.

Professor Mackie's task was not an easy one, but there was still room for a survey which, while leaving diplomatic and foreign detail to others, might have used all the recent studies to give an account of the religious, social, economic, and intellectual climates, and of the various warring forces and types of mind that helped to accomplish the only permanent revolutionary change in English history since the Norman Conquest. This, however, is not the achievement of the present volume. European diplomacy and politics take up considerable space, theological issues are lightly treated, and some of the latest work of English and American scholars is not used. Perhaps the most noteworthy chapter is that on the achievement of Henry VII, who is convincingly presented as the architect of all that is most characteristically Tudor, while at the other end of the book the *tempo*, which is predominantly slow, quickens into a brisk chapter on Mary, where the Spaniards fare as hardly as a patriot could desire.

The reign of Henry VIII abounds in strokes of character, and, as Sir Maurice Powicke finely noted, the fascination of the reign is that every man had in some way or another to choose fatefully between conscience and profit. Here Professor Mackie, though impartial, scarcely rises to his theme. Indeed, one is given to feel that during this epoch all things worked together for future good, and that actions and policies are to be judged by their visible success rather than by the end proposed or the means employed. If an action is realistic and successful, it is also wise; Henry VIII is often praised inasmuch as he acted wisely, but we are not told whether he was a just or an unjust steward.

A few corrigenda, mostly of slight importance, may be noted. P. 16, for 'duke' of Northumberland, read 'earl' and for 1487, 1478. P. 19 (and index) for 'Goldsmith' read 'Goldstone'. P. 197, for 'twenty-eight mitred abbots' in Parliament c. 1500, read '25 abbots (two of them canons) and 2 priors (of Coventry and Clerkenwell)'. Henry VIII added three more abbots to these. P. 236, there was no 'great school of Canterbury in close touch with Rome' at this time. P. 257, it is a little anachronistic to speak of Cuthbert Tunstall as a Trinity man. P. 286, Becket did not hold the chancellorship and archbishopric concurrently. P. 291, Hunne was found dead

on 4 Dec., not 14 Dec., 1514, and no notice is taken of Ogle's work on the subject. P. 354 (note), the reference should be to another article by Mr. G. R. Elton in *E.H.R.*, October 1951. P. 362 (a more serious point), no clear distinction is made between the Acts of Succession and Supremacy, and it is not made clear that More and the rest died for refusing the oath to the second. On the same page Richard Reynolds and the parish priest of Isleworth become 'heads of houses'. P. 383 (note) for 'friars' read 'priors'. P. 407, Roxburgh and Coldingham were not 'great abbeys'. P. 571, Richard Reynolds was not a Carthusian, but a Bridgettine.

DAVID KNOWLES

Lincolnshire and the Fens. By M. W. BARLEY. 8½ × 5½. Pp. viii + 176. London: Batsford, Ltd., 1952. 15s.

It is fitting that the Lincolnshire volume in Batsford's 'The Face of Britain' series should be written by our Fellow M. W. Barley, a Lincoln man with lifelong knowledge of the county, in particular its history and its people. There is much new and valuable information in the book, and the author has, by the use of original material, skilfully avoided the tendency to allow such a work to become a rather dull and repetitive account of the topography and places of interest. For example, in the chapters on 'The Land', 'Churches and Monasteries', and 'Castles and Country Houses', where it might have been so easy to fail, there are new facts and local colour that assure the interest of the reader whether he is familiar with the county or exploring it for the first time. The section dealing with the village, its growth and development and its place in the social history of the county, is a particularly valuable contribution and embodies some of the results of Mr. Barley's personal research in this field and collective work of local history schools held in the county under his direction. The inclusion of the Fens and the Isle of Axholme provides opportunity for a brief evaluation of these areas in the light of modern knowledge which emphasizes increasingly their vast economic importance. The extension of the survey beyond the county boundary to include the fenland as a geographical unit was necessary and on the whole successful. It has, however, led to a little confusion, as, for example: 'Those who go in search of castles in Lincolnshire will find, first of all, Lincoln and Ely. . .'

The book is well produced and amply and effectively illustrated with excellent photographs. There is little to criticize. Some irritating errors occur in proof-reading, particularly among the place-names: these should have been avoided. On the archaeological side it is a pity that the depth of the Roman level in Bailgate, Lincoln, suffers from a multiplication by two—it is actually 9 ft. The work is a worthy addition to the county's bibliography and will be warmly welcomed by Lincolnshire people as well as the general reader.

F. T. BAKER

Shaftesbury, Dorset, The Streets, Roads and Lanes. By E. JERVOISE, F.S.A. Pp. 14. Shaftesbury and District Historical Society Publ. No. 1. Shaftesbury: Pearson & Son, Abbey Press, 1950. 2s. 6d.

This first publication of the Shaftesbury and District Historical Society comprises, most fittingly, a brief survey of the growth of Shaftesbury in relation to the modern topography of the town. The development, street by street, is traced from early maps and town plans and these and literary sources are used for dating the houses. A tabulated list of the sources of the maps and plans referred to would have been useful. The book is small and of pamphlet form, yet includes much information put concisely. Proof-reading of a text of only fourteen pages should be flawless, but, without visiting the town, book in hand, to check the entries, the following divergences from notes available to the reviewer occur: Cawn School was built in 1845, not 1848, and the Market Hall in 1851, not 1841. The illustration of the map of 1615 appears to be from an engraving of the original and of much later date.

A. R. DUFTY

Early English Watercolours and some Cognate Drawings by Artists born not later than 1785. By IOLO A. WILLIAMS. 12 x 9½. Pp. xxii + 266 + pls. 200. London: The Connoisseur, 1952. 5 guineas.

It is a rare but intense pleasure to witness the publication of a book which is likely, even certain to become a standard work; and such is Mr. Iolo Williams's monograph on Early English Water-colours, now under review. Mr. Williams is an outstanding authority on the subject of our national school of watercolour painting; and he has acquired his knowledge not only by detailed research into the literature and history of English painting, but also by very careful examination and fastidious collecting of original works over a long period. His writing is therefore specially rewarding, since it reveals the detached approach of the scholar modified by the more personal perceptions of the connoisseur.

Mr. Williams's text is extremely comprehensive; he has not dealt exclusively with the very famous painters, but has given the minor draughtsmen their fair share; he also makes occasional reference to other uses for water-colour than landscape, such as those delicate drawings of flowers, animals, and birds done by the naturalist artists, and the *croquis* made by designers of theatrical scenery. Moreover, although his main theme is water-colour and its use in England, Mr. Williams has taken into account, both in his essay and in the illustrations, some drawings which are not water-colours, but which may help the reader further to understand the setting in which the water-colour medium was used.

In the arrangement of his text Mr. Williams has very adroitly sifted his material so that he has not overloaded his studies of individual artists with biographical information, yet has skilfully indicated the various stages of their artistic careers and succinctly assessed their relative place among the artists of their time. His dating of individual works and his sensitive appreciation of the various changes of manner which are evident in the *œuvre* of all major artists give the book the significance of authority which will attract the specialist as well as heighten the interest of the more general reader. Mr. Williams's reference, too, to style and technique are clear and helpful with never a trace of jargon.

The plates are very numerous and excellently reproduced. In his choice of illustrations Mr. Williams has been most wise in sometimes resisting the temptation to include a masterpiece which has been reproduced again and again, but has selected many fine works, which are less well known. A number of these are still in private collections.

In the preface Mr. Williams introduces his book with that kind of discerning modesty which would lead the reader to anticipate a pleasure of a high order. He will not be disappointed.

TRENCHARD COX

Anatolian Studies, Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, vol. 1, 1951. 10½ x 7½. Pp. 147. Published annually by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 56 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1. Price £1. 12s. 6d. Contents: Annual Report; Summary of Archaeological Research in Turkey, 1949-50; Excavations at Polatli, by SETON LLOYD and NURİ GÖKÇE, with appendixes on the skulls, by M. S. ŞENYÜREK, Flint and Obsidian, by J. WÄCHTER, Animal Bones, by Prof. H. DILGIMEN, Metal Objects, by C. GÖKSAN and E. ONAT; Harran, by SETON LLOYD and WILLIAM BRICE, and note by C. J. GADD; Excavations at Tabara el Akrad, 1948-9, by SINCLAIR HOOD.

Our Society will give a warm welcome to the first number of *Anatolian Studies*, the progenitor, it is to be hoped, of a long line. One has only to peruse the contents to see what a wide range of subjects this journal must include in its purview: prehistoric, classical, Islamic occur in this first number. It is therefore much to be hoped that the Hon. Editor, Professor V. Gordon Childe, and the sponsors of the venture will be rewarded by support from a large number of

subscribers. As costs of production are rising and scholars have to contend with a multiplicity of journals, the task of achieving a wide circulation is bound to be difficult. It is therefore the more important to emphasize that *Anatolian Studies* fills a real gap in the field of periodicals: libraries public or private which claim to deal with Near Eastern antiquities should find this indispensable. Perhaps also a plea may be added, that young scholars with a predominant interest in the Mediterranean should consider that a personal subscription to a journal of this kind may be a duty no less than an investment. Borrowing books from a library must for ever be our lot, but something privately owned, however moderate, gives the student a personal stake for which there is no substitute.

It is a pleasure to find that our Turkish colleagues have also contributed to the first number, and it is to be hoped that this collaboration may long continue. Much care and thought has evidently been given to the production; the print is clear and easily legible; many of the drawings and some of the photographs are excellent: all this is economically achieved, neither extravagant, nor cheap in quality. No index has been provided for the first number: it may be that this deficiency will be made good in the future; indeed the provision of an index should be considered an obligation.

It is not possible here to comment in detail on the various articles, all of which are of some importance. It was a happy thought to include at the outset an account by Seton Lloyd and Nuri Gökçe of the well-stratified dig at Polatli: the table on page 33 has an important bearing on the entire ceramic history of Anatolia between Troy II and the late Hittite Empire. May we express the hope that in some future number of this journal we may find a general account of the important Turkish excavations at Kanesh, as well as some of the findings from classical sites on the west coast of Asia Minor?

M. E. L. MALLOWAN

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

- PROC. BRITISH ACADEMY, vol. 35, 1949:—Paintings in Westminster Abbey and contemporary paintings, by F. Wormald; Archbishop Thomas Becket: a character study, by M. D. Knowles.
Vol. 36, 1950:—The Imperial 'Vota', by H. Mattingly.
- JOURN. R. ANTHROP. INST., vol. 81, pts. 1 and 2:—A transitional industry from the base of the upper Palaeolithic in Palestine and Syria, by D. A. E. Garrod.
- ANTIQUITY, no. 103, Sept. 1952:—Early Jericho, by K. M. Kenyon; Flint tools and their makers, by H. Humphreys; The Oval House, by J. Walton.
No. 104, Dec. 1952:—Archaeology and the transmission of ideas, by Sir M. Wheeler; Cerdic's landing place, by O. G. S. Crawford; Some aspects of American culture-history, by G. R. Willey; A Chinese puzzle, by O. G. S. Crawford; *Euesperides*—a devastated city site, by R. G. Goodchild; Jebel Anazeh in Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, by H. Field.
- J.B.A.A., 3rd ser., vol. 14, 1951:—Kensington Palace and Sir Christopher Wren: a vindication, by G. H. Chettle and P. A. Faulkner; Constructional characteristics in Anglo-Saxon churches, by E. D. C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher; The castle of Yedi Couli, or the Seven Towers, Constantinople, by S. Toy; The Canynges pavement, by E. Eames; Some medieval sword-pommels: an essay in analysis, by R. E. Oakeshott.
- ARCH. JOURN., vol. 108, 1951:—A pond barrow at Winterbourne Steepleton, Dorset, by R. J. C. Atkinson, J. W. Brailsford, and H. G. Wakefield; An Anglo-Saxon urnfield at South Elkington, Louth, Lincs., by G. Webster with account of the pottery by J. N. L. Myres; The Anglo-Saxon pottery of Lincolnshire, by J. N. L. Myres; Henry Yevele reconsidered, by J. H. Harvey; Tudor town plans in John Speed's *Theatre*, by R. A. Skelton; The Unitarian Chapels of Ipswich and Bury St. Edmunds, by W. H. Godfrey.
- JOURN. R.I.B.A., Aug. 1952:—The Wellington Museum, Apsley House; The great square at Nancy, by K. Chorley.
Sept. 1952:—The lantern of Ely Cathedral.
Oct. 1952:—Plateresque architecture and Sculpture in Spain, by R. Caro.
Dec. 1952:—Some comments on the life and work of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, by P. B. Stanton.
- COAT OF ARMS, vol. 2, no. 11:—The Scrope and Grosvenor roll, by G. Scrope; The Unicorn, by Sir G. Bellew; The arms of Cambridge University and its colleges, by C. W. Scott-Giles; The Union flag, by A. W. B. Messenger; Oxford college arms, by G. D. Squibb; *Scintillatum auro*, by H. S. London.
Vol. 2, no. 12:—Two more monsters, by Sir G. Bellew; The design of the Union Flag, by J. A. Stewart; Some hereditary officers of the Crown, by F. H. Starkey; Quartered arms and Royal descent, by A. W. B. Messenger; The House of Wettin, by A. Turner; The arms of Cambridge University and its colleges (*cont.*), by C. W. Scott-Giles; Heraldry and old Warwickshire maps, by C. Crisp; Sisters in Arms, by A. C. Cole.
- JOURN. SOC. ARMY HIST. RES., vol. 30, no. 123:—Sergeant, 13th Foot, 1833, by W. Y. Carman; Francis Blake Delaval, by W. Y. Carman; Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners, c. 1833, by C. C. P. Lawson; New light on the Flanders Campaign of 1793, edited by A. H. Burne; Löwenstein's Chasseurs at St. Lucia, 1796, by C. C. P. Lawson and P. Young. The 7th Dragoon Guards, c. 1832, by W. Y. Carman; The Ceylon Regiments, 1796 to 1874, by G. Tylden.
Vol. 30, no. 124:—The first Hussar uniform worn by the 8th King's Royal Irish Hussars, c. 1823, by L. E. Buckell; The Royalist army at the relief of Newark, by P. Young; The Grenadier Guards, 1931, by W. Y. Carman; Badges of the Household Cavalry, by R. J. T. Hills.

JOURN. R. ASIATIC SOC., 1952, pts. 3 and 4:—The Egyptian 'Uffāṭah Flute, by H. Hickman; Notes on 'The Scythian Period', by F. W. Thomas; The Pre-Indian basis of Khmer culture, by H. G. Quaritch Wales; Tibetan inscriptions at *Zva-hi Lha Khañ* (pt. 1), by H. E. Richardson.

BURLINGTON MAG., Aug. 1952:—Corporation Plate of England and Wales, by C. Oman; Brunswick arms and armour in the Tower of London, by J. F. Hayward.

Oct. 1952:—Special issue devoted to the 500th anniversary of the birth of Leonardo da Vinci with articles by L. H. Heydenreich, R. Holland, W. G. Hiscock, and C. Gould.

Dec. 1952:—Ju and Kuan wares of the Sung Dynasty, by Sir H. Garner; Two portraits at Charlecote Park by William Larkin, by J. Lees-Milne.

CONNOISSEUR, Aug. 1952:—Fine examples of British pewter: the property of Capt. A. V. Sutherland-Graeme, by L. G. G. Ramsey; Holkham manuscripts acquired for the nation now in the British Museum, by W. O. Hassall; Some 'Royal' coffers, by S. Ruggles-Brise; Corporation Plate of England and Wales at Goldsmiths' Hall, by C. Oman.

Oct. 1952:—Treasures of the House of Brunswick—Furniture and Silver, by L. G. G. Ramsey. Engraved glass, by R. J. Charleston; Silver bindings from the Abbey collection, by J. F. Hayward; An unrecorded 'Amen' glass in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, by W. C. Wallis; Eighteenth-century London paperstainers. Thomas Bromwich at the Golden Lyon, by E. A. Entwistle; Eighteenth-century drinking glasses collected by Mr. Herbert F. Elkington, by G. B. Hughes.

Dec. 1952:—Four centuries of Dutch silver exhibited at the Hague, by C. Oman; The Nativity and Adoration of the Child Christ in French miniatures of the early fifteenth century, by R. Schilling; Hand-made combs, by E. H. Pinto; The art and artists of the Battersea enamel wine-label, by C. Cook; Two hundred years of the Mansion House, London and some of its furniture, by H. Clifford Smith.

JOURN. EGYPTIAN ARCH., vol. 38:—The Stela of the Master-Sculptor Shen, by R. O. Faulkner; Tuthmosis III returns thanks to Amūn, by Sir A. Gardiner; Some reflections on the Nauri Decree, by Sir A. Gardiner; Another geographical list from Medinet Habu, by C. F. Nims; Gebel Es-Silsilah No. 100, by R. A. Caminos; Grammatical notes on the Demotic of Papyrus Insinger, by R. J. Williams; Two Ptolemaic dedications, by P. M. Fraser and A. Rumpf; The date of the rise of Meroë, by G. A. Wainwright; Roman Oxyrhynchus, by E. G. Turner; The Roman remains in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, by D. Meredith.

FOLK-LORE, vol. 63, June 1952:—Folklore elements in the medieval drama, by A. Brown.

GENEALOGISTS' MAG., vol. 11, no. 7:—London business house histories, by D. Dawe; A Cromwell mystery, by M. L. Dix Hamilton.

Vol. 11, no. 8:—Bedfordshire County records, by J. Godber; County masons: a field of biographical research, by F. Burgess.

JOURN. BRIT. SOC. MASTER GLASS-PAINTERS, vol. 11, no. 2:—Early nineteenth-century ideals and methods of restoring ancient stained glass, by J. A. Knowles; The vanished glass of Exeter Cathedral, by F. W. Skeat; Ancient heraldic glass at Wickham Court, West Wickham, Kent, by D. Ingram Hill; Heraldry in stained glass, by L. G. Pine.

BULL. INST. HIST. RESEARCH, vol. 25, no. 72:—Parliamentary drafts, 1529–1540, by G. R. Elton; Itinéraire d'Édouard I^{er} en France, 1286–1289, by J. P. Trabut-Cussac.

ENG. HIST. REV., vol. 67, no. 264:—The Emperor Heraclius and the military theme system, by N. H. Baynes; The early biographers of St. Ethelwold, by D. J. V. Fisher; The last Chancellor of Henry I, by C. Johnson; The inquisition of depopulation of 1607 in Lincolnshire, by J. D. Gould; The Vicariate of the Malatesta of Rimini, by P. J. Jones.

Vol. 67, no. 265:—The *Ius Praesentandi* in England from the Constitutions of Clarendon to Bracton, by J. W. Gray; Parliament and the Articles of Religion, 1571, by J. E. Neale; The seizure of wool at Easter 1297, by G. O. Sayles.

HISTORY, vol. 37, no. 131:—The ancient near East as an historical entity, by H. Frankfort; The feudal relation between the English Crown and the Welsh Princes, by A. J. Roderick.

PROC. HUGUENOT SOC. OF LONDON, vol. 18, no. 5:—Le Comte d'Antraigues, by R. A. Austen-Leigh; Three of the Cinque Ports at which the Huguenots landed, by E. Yates; The voyages of Francois Leguat, by I. A. van Eeghen; Mr. Churchill's Orange ancestry, by C. H. Jeune; Huguenot refugees in Holland, by E. B. C. Lillingston.

Vol. 18, no. 6:—St. Evrémont: a French political exile in seventeenth-century London, by H. T. Barnwell; The Huguenot Glass House of Woodchester, c. 1590–1615, by J. S. Daniels; French maps and map makers of the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, by R. V. Tooley.

THE LIBRARY, 5th ser., vol. 7, no. 21:—The early work of the Foulis Press and the Wilson Foundry, by P. Gaskell; An American colonial calligraphic sheet of King Charles's twelve good rules at Dartmouth College library, by R. Nash.

MAN, Oct. 1952:—A Nigerian bronze figure from the Benin Expedition, by W. Fagg.

Nov. 1952:—The engraved rocks of Kilimanjaro, pt. 1, by H. A. Fosbrooke and Chief P. I. Marealle; Casting moulds made in metal, by H. H. Coghlan.

MARINER'S MIRROR, vol. 38, no. 3:—Galleons and 'Q' ships in the Spanish conspiracy against Venice in 1618, by G. B. R. de Cervin; Lord Nelson and the loss of his arm, by H. T. A. Bosanquet; Mauritius 1810, by H. A. J. de Lothinière.

Vol. 38, no. 4:—Ship-models in Danish churches, by H. Henningsen; Old naval gun-carriages, by J. D. Mood; Thomas Fenner and the Guinea trade, 1564, by K. R. Andrews; The 'Nef' ships of the Ravenna Mosaics, by R. H. Dolley.

TRANS. MONUMENTAL BRASS SOC., vol. 9, pt. 2, no. 72:—Easton Neston, Northants, by H. F. Owen Evans; Merchant marks and the like—their origin and use, by F. W. Kuhlicke; Brasses at Lubeck, by H. K. Cameron; Chalice brasses (*cont.*), by C. L. S. Linnell; A guide to Craven Ord, by V. J. Torr; Scottish notes—3, by F. A. Greenhill.

NUM. CHRON. (1951), 6th ser., vol. 11, no. 41:—Notes on Seleucid coins, by G. K. Jenkins; The Bactra coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius, by A. D. H. Bivar; The *Katoché* hoard of Elean coins, by C. Seltman; Isaurian coins of Heraclius, by P. Grierson; The Iona hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins, by R. B. K. Stevenson; A Radiate hoard, by P. V. Hill; *ΑΠΟΨΙΑ*, by A. M. Woodward; Notes on some barbarous coins from Bow Hill, by P. V. Hill; Roman coins from the excavations at Camerton, Bath, by R. A. G. Carson; Two plated Roman coins from Silchester, by G. C. Boon; Three unpublished Roman coins, by B. W. Pearce; Haselbury Plucknett treasure trove, by R. H. Dolley.

BRIT. NUM. JOURN., vol. 26 (3rd ser., vol. 6, pt. 3):—The 'Standard' and 'London' series of Anglo-Saxon sceattas, by P. V. Hill; A round halfpenny of Henry I, by P. Seaby; Round halfpennies of Henry I, by P. Grierson and C. Brooke; The coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's name, by C. A. Whitton (*concl.*); Seventeenth-century tokens: the Browne Willis cabinet, by J. G. Milne; On a find of early British tin coins at Sunbury-on-Thames, by H. Linecar; The end of the Romano-British coinage re-considered, by P. V. Hill; A new type for Archbishop Wulfred, by R. P. Mack; A Norman penny from Colchester Castle, by R. A. G. Carson; An unpublished penny of Henry I, type 2, by G. V. Doubleday; Six coins of Henry I class xiv from an uncertain hoard, by R. H. Dolley; Coins of Henry I from the Bournemouth district, by H. W. Taffs; A hoard of English groats and Flemish double patards from Norham Castle, Northumberland, by S. E. Rigold; Two unpublished Irish coins, by R. Carlyon-Britton.

TRANS. ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOC., 1949–50:—The collection of Chinese porcelain from the Ardabil Shrine, by M. Bahrami; Queen Mary II's porcelain collection at Hampton Court, by A. Lane; Proto-porcelain and Yüeh ware, by O. Karlbeck; The problem of Chinese Cloisonné enamels, by S. Jenkins; Tin foil as a decoration on Chou pottery, by I. Newton.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY, May–Oct. 1952:—Excavations at Jericho, 1952, by K. M. Kenyon; Jerusalem in the fourth century, by R. W. Hamilton; The Priestly Laver as a Symbol on ancient Jewish coins, by C. Roth; The date of the Hymns Scroll, by S. A. Birnbaum; Khirbet Qumran and Wady Murab'at, by G. L. Harding; Tell el Far'a by Nablus: a 'Mother' in ancient Israel, by J. Gray; New light on Endor, by N. Zori; A fragment in an unknown script, by S. A. Birnbaum.

JOURN. ROMAN STUDIES, vol. 42, pts. 1 and 2:—The Culex, by E. Fraenkel: A note on *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 34, 3, by F. E. Adcock; The Riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch, by R. Browning; The shrine of St. Peter and its twelve spiral columns, by J. B. Ward Perkins; A *Lex Sacra* from Lavinium, by S. Weinstock; The Hadrianic inscription from the Caesareum at Cyrene, by E. M. Smallwood; Tacitus and the Visurgis. A gloss in the first book of the *Annals*, by C. O. Brink; The extortion procedure again, by A. N. Sherwin-White; Theta Nigrum, by G. R. Watson; A Roman(?) head at Dumfries, by J. M. C. Toynbee; *Vasa Murrina* and the Lexica, by G. C. Whittick; The Aldgate potter: a maker of Romano-British Samian ware, by G. Simpson; A synnadic copy of the Edict of Diocletian, by I. W. Macpherson; The treaty between Rome and the Achaean League, by E. Badian; Philip V and Lemnos, by P. M. Fraser and A. H. McDonald; Professor Burkitt and the geographical catalogue, by E. F. Bishop; Roman Britain in 1951.

BULL. JOHN RYLANDS LIB., vol. 35, no. 1:—The Covenanters of Damascus and the Dead Sea scrolls, by H. H. Rowley; Skriptorium und Bibliothek der Cistercienserabtei Himmerod im Rheinland: zur Geschichte klösterlichen Bibliothekswesens im Mittelalter, by P. A. Schneider; Some illustrated manuscripts of the lives of the Saints, by F. Wormald.

JOURN. WARBURG & COURTAULD INST., vol. 15, nos. 1-2:—State festivals in Egypt and Mesopotamia, by H. Frankfort; Minos of Crete, by J. Forsdyke; The image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline ethics, by R. Pfeiffer; The dating of the column of Marcus Aurelius, by J. Morris; An illustrated evangelistary of the Ada School and its model, by W. Koehler; Nectanebus in his palace, by D. J. A. Ross; Revivals of Roman law, by H. F. Jolowicz.

ARCH. AEL., 4th ser., vol. 30:—Barons and knights of Northumberland, A.D. 1166-1266, by C. H. Hunter Blair; The battle of Hexham, 1464, by D. Charlesworth; Merchant charities of Newcastle upon Tyne, by E. Halcrow, B. Harbottle, and J. Slipper; Manor of Simonburn and Warks Park, by W. P. Hedley; The work of Robert Adam in Northumberland, by W. R. Elliot; The early history of the Craster family, by Sir E. Craster; Earl Waltheof of Northumbria, by F. S. Scott; The lieutenantcy of the county of Durham, by A. A. Luxmoore; A Roman site on Dere Street, by E. J. W. Hildyard; Further exploration of the Antonine fort at Corbridge, by I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam.

TRANS. BIRMINGHAM ARCH. SOC., vol. 68:—Ruined and desecrated churches and chapels in Warwickshire, by P. B. Chatwin; The fonts of Staffordshire, by S. A. Jeavons; Medieval painted glass in Staffordshire churches, by S. A. Jeavons; The medieval churchyard and wayside crosses of Warwickshire, by J. Nelson; Excavations at Aston Hall, 1950, by A. Oswald.

TRANS. BRISTOL & GLOS. ARCH. SOC., vol. 70, 1951:—Excavations in the City of Bristol, 1948-51, by K. Marshall; The date of the Orpheus mosaic from The Barton, Cirencester Park, by A. Fox; Ridley's Almshouses, Bristol, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil; The rise of the Berkeleys: an account of the Berkeleys of Berkeley Castle, 1243-1361, pt. 1, by W. J. Smith; The household accounts of Elizabeth Berkeley, Countess of Warwick, 1420-1, by C. Ross; Some recent discoveries in local records, by I. E. Gray; The connections between John Knight, Jnr. and the Parsons and Jennings families, by I. V. Hall; The beginnings of Trade Unionism in the Gloucestershire Woollen Industry, by W. E. Minchinton; A Neolithic tanged arrow-head from Withington, Glos., by W. N. Terry; Crutched Friars at Wotton under Edge, by E. S. Lindley; The stone of the canopy of Edward II's tomb in Gloucester Cathedral, by L. Richardson; A Kingswood Abbey rental, by E. S. Lindley; St. Arild of Thornbury, by E. S. Lindley; The grant of Arms to the Cary family, by I. V. Hall.

CAMB. HIST. JOURN., vol. x, no. 3:—The State Health Service in ancient Greece, by A. G. Woodhead; The anti-monastic reaction in the reign of Edward the Martyr, by D. J. V. Fisher; The Pipe Rolls and the historians, 1600-1883, by Lady Stenton.

JOURN. CHESTER & NORTH WALES ARCHITECT. ARCH. & HIST. SOC., vol. 39:—Excavations at Heronbridge, 1947-48, by B. R. Hartley; Excavations on the legionary defences at Chester, 1945-52, by G. Webster; The Black Friars of Chester, by J. H. E. Bennett; The history of Chester Cathedral in the reigns of James I and Charles I, by R. V. H. Burne; The City gilds of Chester, by M. J. Groombridge.

ESSEX REV., vol. 61, no. 243:—'Poffords alias Spencers' in Langham, by C. Partridge; Essex malting cottages, by F. Z. Claro; Fundamental errors in the article on St. Osyth, published in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, by W. H. Fearis.

Vol. 61, no. 244:—The story of an Essex village from Elizabeth I to the Eighteenth Century, by J. M. Winmill; Onomasticon Essexiense, by P. H. Reaney; The military career of Lieutenant-General John Brown of Harlow and Layer-de-la-Haye, by G. O. Rickword; John Abell's Bridge, Nayland, by D. M. M. Shorrock.

PROC. HANTS F.C. AND ARCH. SOC., vol. 17, pt. 3:—Repairs to Calshot Castle in 1612, by C. F. Bühler; A group of Claudian pottery from Clausentum, by D. M. Waterman; Four centuries of farming systems in Hampshire, 1500–1900, by G. E. Fussell; St. Urian's Copse, Yaverland, by D. R. A. Watson; A mesolithic site on Old Winchester Hill, by J. C. Draper.

TRANS. HUNTER ARCH. SOC., vol. 7, pt. 2:—Sheffield Church burgesses, by P. J. Wallis; The Roman roads in the Don Valley. Ricknild Street, by D. Greene; 'Roman Ridge' excavation reports—IV. Grimesthorpe Road, Sheffield, by F. L. Preson and L. H. Butcher.

PROC. I.O. MAN N.H. AND ANT. SOC., vol. 5, no. 3:—Residences of the Lords of Man and the Governors from early times, by Sir G. R. Bromet; The Great Enquest, by D. Craine; The development of Manx fishing craft, by B. and E. Megaw; Ecclesiastical courts in the Isle of Man, by N. Mathieson; William Sacheverell, by P. W. Caine; Excavation of a promontory fort at Port Grenaugh, Santon, by P. S. Gelling.

SOCIÉTÉ JERSIAISE: BULL. ANN., 1952:—Some letters of Charles II to Jersey; Proclamation of Charles II in Jersey; St. Mannelier's Grammar School, 1477–1863, by Ph. Ahier; The Account of Hugh of St. Philibert, 1226, by J. le Patourel.

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PROC. S.A. NEWCASTLE, 5th ser., vol. 1, no. 3:—The repair of Newcastle town wall, by J. E. Hutchinson; Epitaphs from Bywell St. Peter's and Blanchland churchyards; The tenants of Birling, by E. Miller; Bigges Pillar, by W. H. Sharp.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE PAST & PRESENT, vol. 1, no. 5:—Thomas Eayre of Kettering and other members of his family, by P. I. King; A Rugby headmaster's letters to a parent in the early 18th century, by Sir G. Isham; Some domestic animals in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, by M. Finch.

PROC. SOMERSET ARCH. & N.H. SOC., 1951:—A review of the Society's Proceedings during the present century, by H. St. G. Gray; The Roman site at Catsgore, Somerton, by C. A. Raleigh Radford (with contributions by H. S. L. Dewar, D. Greenshields, and W. A. Seaby); The death of Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1584–90), by P. M. Hembry; A group of bronzes of the early Iron Age in Yeovil Museum, by Sir C. Fox; The Roman temple at Pagan's Hill, Chew Stoke, N. Somerset, by P. Rahtz; The Tudor and Stuart plasterwork of West Somerset, by A. W. Vivian-Neal; A selection of North Somerset place-names, by A. G. C. Turner; Recent excavations at Hinton Priory, Somerset, by P. C. Fletcher; Monumental brasses in Somerset, by A. B. Connor; Bath and Westminster, by B. Little; The Roman name of Ilchester, by C. E. Stevens; Finds from Cockles Wood Cave, Nettlebridge, Somerset, by M. J. L. Hickling and W. A. Seaby.

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SUSSEX ARCH. COLL., vol. 90:—The Eastbourne Roman villa, by T. Sutton; The manor of Broughton in Jevington, by the late W. Budgen; Street administration in Chichester, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, by F. H. W. Sheppard; The Ovingdean skull. With some notes on prehistoric Trephining, by L. A. Parry; The 1801 crop returns from Sussex, by H. C. K. Henderson; Four centuries of farming systems in Sussex, 1500–1900, by G. E. Fussell; Baldy's garden, the painters Lambert, and other Sussex families, by W. H. Challen; The estuary of the Adur, by H. C. Brookfield; Chichester excavations, 1947–50, by A. E. Wilson; A prehistoric and Romano-British site at West Blatchington, Hove, by N. E. S. Norris and G. P. Burstow.

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WILTS. ARCH. & N.H. MAG., vol. 54, no. 197:—A trial flint mine at Durrington, Wilts., by A. St. J. Booth and J. F. S. Stone; Dinton and Little Clarendon, by H. F. Chettle; The Neolithic camp on Whitesheet Hill, Kilminster Parish, by S. Piggott; Quidhampton in North Wilts., by J. Wilson; The note book of a Wiltshire farmer in the early seventeenth century, by E. Kerridge; Some Wiltshire fonts, pt. 4, by A. G. R. Buck.

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YORKS. ARCH. SOC., RECORD SERIES, vol. 116, Miscellanea vol. 5, ed. by F. W. Brooks contains: A calendar of the early judgments of the Hull Trinity House; A calendar of early orders from the oath and bond book of the Hull Trinity House; East Riding Muster Roll, 1584; List of elder brethren of the Hull Trinity House, 1582–1630; Summaries of musters for the East Riding Wapentakes.

TRANS. GEORGIAN SOC. E. YORKS., vol. 3, pt. 2:—Bell Hall, Naburn, by Sir H. Wilberforce-Bell and R. A. Alec-Smith; Gibson's shipyard, Great Union Street, Hull, by C. Barnby; Howsham Hall, a country house reprieved, by R. A. Alec-Smith; Listed buildings in Hull and the East Riding compiled under the Town & Country Planning Act, 1947.

BERWICK. NAT. CLUB, vol. 32, pt. 2:—The Standing Stones of Yarrow, by H. J. Boyd; Notes on Newark Castle, by C. S. T. Calder; Roman Fort in Selkirkshire: recent excavations, by R. W. Feachem; Notes on Smailholm Tower, by J. A. Thomson; The story of Berwick Parish Church, by W. B. Hicks; Woden law again, by Sir W. Aitchison; Report on underground chambers at Berwick station, August, 1951, from Berwick Journal.

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SCOTTISH HIST. REV., Oct. 1952:—The education of a Scottish nobleman's sons in the seventeenth century—II. Study in France, by M. F. Moore; An early Scottish Virginal Book, by H. M. Willsher; A reputed Royal Charter of 1218, by G. O. Sayles; Ayr Burgh accounts, 1428–29, by G. S. Pryde.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS, vol. 101, pt. 2:—Vespasian A XIV, by Lord Bishop of Swansea and Brecon; Three 'rounded-gable' houses in Carmarthenshire, by Sir C. Fox; Ministry of Works, Ancient Monuments Branch: report on work in Wales by the Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Wales; A further note on ancient Welsh measurements of land, by C. A. Gresham; Castell Nanhyfer, Nevern, by D. J. C. King and J. C. Perks; The church bells of Flintshire, by R. W. M. Clouston.

BULL. BOARD CELTIC STUDIES, vol. 14, pt. 4:—Notes on the pedigree of Salusbury of Lleweni, by W. J. Smith; Building at Caerphilly in 1326, by A. J. Taylor; Colonel Francis Trafford, by A. H. Dodd; Early accounts relating to North Wales, temp. Edward I, by J. Griffiths; The medieval settlement at Llantwit Major, Glam., by V. E. Nash-Williams.

JOURN. HIST. SOC. CHURCH IN WALES, vol. 2, no. 5:—Westminster Abbey and its records, by L. E. Tanner; Welsh church history as celtic mythology, by T. Lewis; A fragment of the Register of Stephen Patryngton, Bishop of St. Davids, by H. D. Emanuel; The Kambriac Mappa of Giraldus Cambrensis, by J. C. Davies; The Elizabethan settlement of religion in Wales and the Marches, 1559–60, by G. Williams; Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor and Hereford, by E. G. Wright.

ULSTER JOURN. OF ARCH., vol. 14, pts. 1 and 2:—Mesolithic flints from Joymount, Carrickfergus, by A. E. P. Collins and E. M. Jope; A newly discovered Horned Cairn in Co. Down, by R. C. Davidson; R. A. S. Macalister and the archaeology of Ireland, by E. E. Evans; Ancient fish weirs on the Co. Down coast, by E. E. Evans; Decorated Rotary Querns from Wales and Ireland, by W. E. Griffiths; Scottish influences in the North of Ireland: Castles with Scottish features, 1580–1640, by E. M. Jope; A crescentic jet necklace from Rasharkin, Co. Antrim, by E. M. Jope; A late Bronze Age shield mould of wood from Co. Antrim, by E. M. Jope; Alumni of St. Andrews and the settlement of Ulster, by A. F. Scott Pearson; Excavations at Dundrum Castle, 1950, by D. M. Waterman.

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AMERICAN JOURN. ARCH., vol. 56, no. 3:—Epigraphical honor and the Hesperia index, by W. K. Pritchett; Alexander's brutality, by C. A. Robinson, Jr.

Vol. 56, no. 4:—The New York 'Phryx-Vase', by J. D. Beazley; Asiatic Keftiu, by G. A. Wainwright.

ARCHAEOLOGY, March 1952:—Monuments of Roman Spain, by A. H. Travis; Art of the Ming Dynasty, by P. L. Grigaut; With pick and shovel in Pine Lawn Valley, by P. S. Martin; A bronze standard from Persia, by E. Borowski; Cat or marten?, by S. S. Schipper; A small Byzantine treasure found at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, by M. C. Ross; The mystery of Pisac, by V. W. von Hagen; The archaic Greek Helmet in St. Louis, by J. Ternbach; An Egyptian battle-axe, by W. Needler; When Romans went shopping, by D. K. Hill.

Summer 1952:—A helmet from Emisa, by H. Seyrig; Recent finds at Nippur, a great city of ancient Mesopotamia, by D. E. McCown; The great Egyptian crocodile mystery, by G. Bagnani; Roman coins as propaganda, by M. Grant; Excavations in the Stone Age of Algeria and Tunisia, by B. Howe; Luristan bronzes: their style and symbolism, by C. Lancaster; New discoveries in Baluchistan, by W. A. Fairervis; The highways of the Inca, by V. W. von Hagen; The Delphic Oracle, by R. Haywood; International epigraphy, by A. E. Raubitschek.

ART BULLETIN, vol. 34, no. 2:—The eight Gregorian modes on the Cluny capitals, by K. Meyer; Petrarch and the decoration of the Sala Virorum illustrium in Padua, by T. E. Mommsen; Thomas Baillairgé and the Québécois tradition of church architecture, by A. Gowans; Notes on the wooden doors of Santa Sabina, by R. Delbrueck.

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HESPERIA, vol. 21, no. 2:—Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 1951, by H. A. Thompson; Three centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, I A, by D. B. Thompson.

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JOURN. NEAR EASTERN STUDIES, vol. 11, no. 3:—Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll, II. Masoretic *Yizwaḥū* in 42: 11, by H. M. Orlinsky; Wandlungen des ägyptischen Geschichtsbildes, von

H. A. J. Kees; On ancient Hebrew seals, by S. Moscati; Excavations at Nippur, 1948-50, by D. E. McCown; Additions to the Egyptian Book of the Dead, by T. G. Allen; Dante and the legend of the *Mi'rāj*: the problem of Islamic influence on the Christian literature of the Otherworld, by T. Silverstein; Punischer Spracheinfluss im Berberischen, von W. Vycichl; Textual notes on the Dead Sea manual of discipline, by R. Marcus; Notes on the legend of Keret, by C. H. Gordon.

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NEW ENGLAND HIST. & GENEAL. REGISTER, July 1952:—Third part of a roll of arms. Registered by the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; Roger Barton of Westchester County, N.Y., and some of his earlier descendants (*cont.*), by G. E. McCracken; Church records of West Yarmouth, Mass. (*cont.*) copied by Florence Conant Howes; The origin of Nevill of Raby, by G. A. Moriarty; The Whittemore family in America (*cont.*), by B. A. Whittemore and E. Whittemore; Passenger arrivals at Salem and Beverly, Mass., 1798-1800, by Mrs. G. A. Hill; David Sage, of Middletown, Conn., his children, and grandchildren, by H. K. Sage; Vital records of Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine (*cont.*), by Mrs. W. M. Bush.

Oct. 1952:—Guide to genealogical and biographical sources for New York City: 1783-1855, by R. F. Bailey; Third part of a roll of arms (*cont.*), registered by the Committee on Heraldry of the New England Historic Genealogical Society; The Whittemore family in America (*cont.*), by B. A. Whittemore and E. Whittemore; The Baliols in Picardy, England and Scotland, by G. A. Moriarty; Roger Barton of Westchester County, N.Y., and some of his earlier descendants (*cont.*), by G. E. McCracken.

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Vol. 27, no. 4:—The sources for the history of the Syrian assassins, by B. Lewis; The settlement of the Latins in Jerusalem, by J. Prawer.

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ACAD. ROY. DE BELGIQUE: BULL. DE LA CLASSE DES LETTRES, 1952, 4:—Paulinus, *Kouwonós* de Sébaste de Phrygie, par W. Calder et H. Grégoire; Le papyrus d'Antinoöpolis relatif aux mystères, par A. Delatte.

1952, 5-6:—À propos de Troie, par F. Mayence.

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REVUE BÉNÉDICTINE, tome 62, nos. 3-4:—Le texte de l'homélie pseudo-Basilienne sur l'Incarnation du Seigneur, par S. Y. Rudberg; Augustinus und die griechische Patristik. Eine Einführung und Nachlese zu den quellenkritischen Untersuchungen, von B. Altaner; Sur les sources de la règle bénédictine et de la *Regula Magistri*, par F. Vandenbroucke; Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxerre, par J. Leclercq.

ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA, tom. 70, fasc. 3-4:—Un émule d'Orphée. La légende grecque inédite de S. Zosime, martyr d'Anazarbe en Cilicie, par F. Halkin; S. Venance Fortunat, évêque de Poitiers. Les témoignages de son culte, par B. de Gaiffier; L'auteur de la *Passio Livini* s'est-il inspiré de la *Vita Lebuini*?, par M. Coens; Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie, par F. Halkin; Notes d'hagio-

graphie celtique, par P. Grosjean; Sur les éditions de l'Usuard de Jean Molanus, par P. Grosjean; Saint Jean de la Croix. Chronique bibliographique, par B. de Gaiffier; Études byzantines et hagiographie. À propos d'ouvrages récents, par F. Halkin.

ACAD. BULGARE DES SCIENCES. BULL. DE L'INSTITUT ARCH., XVIII:—Une triade familiale dans la religion des Thraces, par D. Detschew; Essai de reconstruction de deux boucliers de Thrace, par L. Ogenova; Contribution à l'iconographie du grand dieu d'Odessos, par G. Tonceva; Contribution à l'archéologie d'Apollonia, par I. Galabov; Un sanctuaire thrace près du village de Liljace, par I. Venedicov; Les fouilles à Nicopolis ad Istrum, par T. Ivanov.

ARCHEOLOGICKÉ ROZHLEDY, IV, 1952, sešit 1:—Fouilles de la grotte Prepoštská, par F. Prošek; Nécropole du peuple à céramique spiralée à Mlynárce, par E. Plesl; Habitat néolithique à Libkovice près de Duchcov, Bohême, par Z. Váňa; Station énéolithique de hauteur près de Vrané, arrt. de Slaný, Bohême, par K. Žebera; Dépôt de bronzes à Ožd'any en Slovaquie, par J. Kudrnáček; Fouilles occasionnelles de Malá Udiča, arrt. de Povážska Bystrica, Slovaquie, par Ka; Nouvelles trouvailles de Topolčany en Slovaquie, par Ka; Recherches de reconnaissance à Starý Tekov en Slovaquie, par Tk; Cimetière slave près de Pavlov en Moravie, par J. Král.

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AARBØGER, 1951:—On the preservation of wooden objects found in peatbogs, by B. B. Christensen; Buried runestones, by A. Bæksted; Maglemose culture on Bornholm, by C. J. Becker; Instruments of the Passion—"The Arms of Christ", by M. Mackeprang; New Ertebølle culture finds in Himmerland, by P. Simonsen; Scandinavian mementos of mediaeval visits to America, by H. Holand.

ACTA ARCHAEOLOGICA, vol. 22, 1951:—Fagervik. Ein Rückgrat für die Periodeneinteilung der ostschwedischen Wohnplatz- und Bootstxkulturen aus dem Mittelneolithikum, von A. Bagge; Late-neolithic flint mines at Aalborg, by C. J. Becker; A Parthian vase in the Danish National Museum, by M.-L. Buhl; A detail of dress history, by S. Grieg; Viking art in the eleventh century, by W. Holmqvist;

Nero, Britannicus and others. Iconographical studies, by V. H. Poulsen; *Der Hesselagerfund. Ein Schatzfund des 5. Jahrhunderts aus Fünen*, von O. Voss.

PROC. ROY. IRISH ACAD., vol. 54, section C, no. 5:—Excavation of a Cairn at Moneen, Co. Cork, by M. J. O'Kelly.

Vol. 55, section C, no. 2:—Three promontory forts in Co. Cork, by M. J. O'Kelly.

JOURN. R. SOC. ANTIQ. IRELAND, vol. 82, pt. 1:—Midleton School, Co. Cork, by M. Quane; Irish soldiers in the Thirty Years War, by J. Hennig; 'The British and Godelic element in Ireland', by A. M. Heiermeier; The de Ridelesfords, by E. St. J. Brooks.

JOURN. CORK. HIST. ARCH. SOC., vol. 57, no. 185:—Three pages from Irish Gospel-books, by M. Duignan; St. Gobnet's House, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, by M. J. O'Kelly; The decorated stones at Ballyvourney, Co. Cork, by F. Henry; St. Gobnet of Ballyvourney, by D. Ó. hÉaluighthe.

JOURN. CO. KILDARE ARCH. SOC., vol. 13, no. 3:—A decorated headstone at Killashee, by A. Longfield; Nicknames and namesakes, by K. Müller-Lisowski.

COUNTY LOUTH ARCH. JOURN., vol. 12, no. 3:—Ui Cruinn, a lost Louth sept, by T. O. Fiaich; Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century decorated headstones in County Louth, by A. K. Longfield; The 'Mantle of St. Brigid' at Burges, by H. F. McClintock; The West Cross, Monasterboice: a note and a suggestion, by A. T. Lucas; A new dug-out canoe, by J. Raftery; A stone chisel from County Limerick, by J. Raftery; Historical notes on Paughanstown, Roewstown and Hacklim, by D. McIvor.

L'ANTHROPOLOGIE, tome 56, nos. 3-4:—L'abri Montastruc à Bruniquel, par B. Bétirac; L'abri Audi. Pièces inédites et considérations générales, par L. Pradel; La vannerie. Essai de classification, par H. Balfet; Récents progrès des études sur le Tardiglaciaire, par H. Gams.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

Thursday, 23rd October 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

The President paid a tribute to the memory of Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, 1934-9, and of Professor Hamilton Thompson, Vice-President, 1933-7, whose deaths had occurred during the recess.

Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., read a paper on Nicholas Carlisle (Secretary, 1807-47) and his times.

Thursday, 30th October 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Major P. D. R. Williams-Hunt, Mr. J. L. Kirby, and Mr. J. H. L. Washington were admitted Fellows.

Mr. H. Stanford London, F.S.A., read a paper on some unpublished fifteenth-century heraldic treatises.

Thursday, 6th November 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Rev. C. M. Lowther Bouch was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. A. J. Taylor, F.S.A., read a paper on some Continental influences on the building of the North Wales Castles.

Thursday, 13th November 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Stuart Syme was admitted a Fellow.

The Duke of Wellington, F.S.A., read a paper on the Scaffold George of Charles I.

Thursday, 20th November 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

The President paid a tribute to the memory of Sir Charles Peers (Secretary, 1908-21; Director, 1921-9; President, 1929-34) whose death took place on 16th November.

Mr. F. C. Elliston Erwood, F.S.A., read a paper on the plan of the church of the Benedictine Nunnery of Mallington, Kent, (a) the Eastern Arm, (b) the Tower.

Thursday, 27th November 1952. Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. John M. Cook was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. J. M. Cook, F.S.A., read a paper on Early Ionia in the light of recent researches.

Thursday, 4th December 1952. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Professor J. M. C. Toynbee, F.S.A., and Mr. C. D. P. Nicholson, F.S.A., read a paper on evidence of Christian worship in the Lullingstone Roman villa revealed by the reconstructed wall-paintings.

Thursday, 11th December 1952. Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Seton H. F. Lloyd was admitted a Fellow.

Dr. K. M. Kenyon, F.S.A., read a paper on Neolithic Jericho.

Thursday, 8th January 1953. Dr. D. B. Harden, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. R. Dufty, Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. Lewis Edwards, and Dr. W. L. Hildburgh were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1952.

Mr. E. M. Jope, F.S.A., read a paper on fortification and architecture in Northern Ireland through the seventeenth century.

Thursday, 15th January 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Dr. C. H. Talbot, Rev. Dom A. Hughes, Mr. H. Duff, Miss J. M. Reynolds, Prof. F. E. Zeuner, Miss M. G. Wilson, Mr. E. H. L. Sexton, Mr. F. B. Gilhespy, Mr. T. A. Lloyd, Mr. N. Walker, Dr. K. P. Oakley, Mr. A. H. Smith.

The Birdlip Mirror was exhibited by the Secretary by permission of the Gloucester Museum.

Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., exhibited MS. 723, the notes and correspondence of Rev. Bryan Faussett (F.S.A. 1763-76).

Mr. E. M. Jope, F.S.A., exhibited late Saxon pottery from his excavations beneath the Oxford Castle mound.

Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze vessel from the Middle East.

Thursday, 22nd January 1953. Dr. E. G. Millar, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Alcock read a paper on Bhambhor: an Arab port in Sind.

Thursday, 29th January 1953. Sir James Mann, President, in the Chair.

Miss Marion Wilson was admitted a Fellow.

Professor Stuart Piggott, F.S.A., and Mr. R. J. C. Atkinson, F.S.A., read a paper on the Early Iron Age horse-mask from Torrs: a critical analysis.

SIR CHARLES REED PEERS

CHARLES REED PEERS, Knight, C.B.E., F.B.A., F.R.I.B.A., Litt.D., D.Lit., D.C.L., M.A., filled in succession the offices of Secretary (1908-21), Director (1921-9), and President (1929-34) of this Society.

He was born at Westerham on 22nd September 1868, the son of the Rev. William Henry Peers, and was educated at Charterhouse (of which he was later to be a governor) and at King's College, Cambridge.

In 1893 Peers and our Fellow, the late Sir George Hill, presented themselves together as candidates for a junior post at the British Museum. Hill was the successful one. From this meeting in early manhood the two formed a close and intimate friendship which lasted their joint lives. Some forty years later Hill rose to be the Director of the Museum at the same time that Peers was a member of the Board of Trustees. It was Peers who wrote his friend's obituary notice in these pages.

Later in the same year Peers became a pupil of Sir Thomas Jackson, the architect, in whose office he worked for the next three years. This practical training was of the greatest value to his future work, both in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and in his subsequent supervisory posts.

He was elected a Fellow of this Society in 1901. Two years later he became architectural editor of the new *Victoria County History*. His course was now set. In 1910 he was appointed an Inspector of Ancient Monuments under the Office of Works and became Chief Inspector in 1913. For a quarter of a century he devoted his very individual talents to this great public service. No one else could have brought to the work the same combination of gifts.

His love of gardens rejuvenated the neglected piles of castles and abbeys with mown lawns and bright flowers. No ivy-mantled towers were left for owls to lament in. He founded a school of conservation which was a model to the world and one earnestly hopes will long survive him. He was largely responsible for two Acts of Parliament promoting the care of ancient monuments.

For forty years he was a devoted servant, counsellor, and leader of this Society, for which he had a deep affection. His busy life prevented his writing any large book, but he contributed numerous papers to *Archaeologia*, the *Proceedings*, and the *Journal*, and elsewhere, and his influence on other workers in his field was great.

On his retirement from the public service a new phase of activity began for him. He wryly said that he was now busier and better off than he had ever been as a Civil Servant. His services as advisor were competed for by those responsible for our most important ancient buildings. He was appointed Seneschal of Canterbury Cathedral, Surveyor of Westminster Abbey, architect-in-charge of Durham Castle, consulting architect of York Minster and Durham Cathedral. He was called in to advise the Dean and Chapter of

Winchester Cathedral with regard to the new development plan for the City; his help, too, was sought by New College, Oxford, and Eton College.

Honours, entirely unsought, fell thick upon him. He was awarded the Royal Gold Medal of the R.I.B.A. in 1933, the Gold Medal for Archaeology of this Society in 1938, and received the Order of St. Olaf of Norway. He was appointed to the honorary office of Antiquary to the Royal Academy of Arts.

The number of bodies on whose directing committees he sat would make a long list. He served on the Standing Commission of Museums and Galleries, was a Trustee of the British Museum and the London Museum, a member of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, first Chairman of the Management Committee of the Institute of Archaeology, and Treasurer of the National Buildings Record. He was Rhind Lecturer in Archaeology at Edinburgh. He also presided over the International Congress of Pre-historic and Protohistoric Sciences held in London in 1932.

During the First World War he inherited from his father Chiselhampton House in south Oxfordshire, where his forebears had been seated since the middle of the eighteenth century. The founder of the family fortunes was Lord Mayor of London in the reign of George II. The chapel with its beautiful plaster-work has recently been the subject of an appeal for preservation, to which this Society was glad to contribute from the Morris Fund. It was at Chiselhampton that Peers was able to develop his love of horticulture which he applied so successfully to the care of ancient monuments.

He wore his learning very lightly. His charming manners and ready smile were accompanied by a shrewd critical sense and much strength of purpose. As I mentioned in my Anniversary Address of 1950, no one could put his finger so unerringly on the weak spot in any paper read before him.

He was taken ill on a visit to Ripon in the company of a number of his friends in this Society. He bore a long illness of seven years with the greatest fortitude. During this time his interest in the welfare of the Society never flagged. He wrote from his nursing-home to urge that the opportunity of examining the remains of the Bishop of Winchester's Palace at Southwark, made possible by the war, should be seized. When the writer of this memoir last visited him he had the latest number of the Society's *Journal* in his hands. His funeral service was conducted by the Dean in Westminster Abbey, and his remains are laid in the Islip Chapel.

J. G. M.

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